Anti-Colonial war, Anti-nuclear campaign & anti-Vietnam War 1973-1985

*(**Anti-Soviet Red Army Occupations – info*)
Flyers & newsletters where present, followed by ***journal articles***
*for information only

Code WV = Workers Vanguard
Code LC = Labor Challenge
Code FW = Forward
@=Defective journal copy

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1983-03Mar24	NDP Antiwar Ctee circular for Metro Conference call
1983-04Apr00	**NDP Anti-War Newsletter** (first issue: Vol. 1 No. 1)
1983-07July00	**NDP Anti-War Newsletter Vol. 1 No. 2:** Open Letter

1983-11Nov00	NDP Antiwar Cttee flyer: Membership meeting
1983-11Nov00-2	**NDP Antiwar Newsletter Vol. 1 No. 3:** Act now to halt Cruise tests
1984-02Feb00a	"NDP & the Antiwar Movement" -- Cttee report, Cruise protest
1984-03Mar99a	**NDP Antiwar Newsletter:** What electoral choice? (2PP)
1984-04Apr00	Flyer (TDN) Join the Campaign --- Peace Petition Caravan campaign!
1984-06June98	Letter from NDP Anti War Cttee – support Peace Petition Caravan
1984-06June99	NDP Anti-war Cttee Report (Summer) Review of 2 years
1984-09Sept00a	**NDP Antiwar Newsletter:** Broadbent warns against nuclear
1985-07July00a	NDP Antiwar Cttee – Brief on Star Ward to Parliamentary Cttee
1985-07July00b	"NATO is the vehicle for Star Wars..." contact Harry Paine

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labor Challenge

#71 Jan. 22, 1973

Canada: Hands off Vietnam!

by GEORGE ADDISON

On Jan. 5, in an unprecedented unanimous motion in the House of Commons, the Canadian parliament went on record against the U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. This motion, introduced by the minority Liberal government and supported by all parties, has been widely interpreted as an indication of a new policy by the Trudeau government, a reversal of Canada's longstanding complicity in U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people.

This is not the case. In the first place, the Canadian action comes as a meek response to a tremendous popular outcry against Washington's murderous "carpet bombing" of North Vietnam since Nixon's special adviser Henry Kissinger announced to the world in late October that peace was "at hand." The Canadian government's move came only after thousands of prominent Canadians—church-people, union leaders, academics, politicians and provincial NDP governments had demanded that Ottawa make a statement. It came only after the federal NDP caucus had threatened to present a much more strongly-worded motion itself. It came only after a range of other capitalist governments — including Sweden, Australia, New Zealand and others had condemned U.S. bombing in much stronger terms.

Secondly, the "new" Canadian government position is not fundamentally opposed to the aims of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The motion itself "deplores" only the bombing of the cities of Hanoi and Haiphong then congratulates Nixon for ending it. No mention is made of the

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NDP must back Vietnam self-determination

← p. 1

U.S. terror bombing throughout the rest of Indochina.

The government resolution carefully avoids the key issue in Vietnam — the denial of the Vietnamese right of self-determination by U.S. aggression. It fails to demand that the U.S. withdraw all its troops, planes, warships and materiel from Southeast Asia now.

Furthermore, the Commons motion condemns both sides in the war equally. It "requests all the parties involved in the conflict to refrain from acts of a warlike nature that could jeopardize the success of the present negotiations."

"We have not lost sight," External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp told the House, "of North Vietnam's continued military intervention

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WEST GERMAN PROTEST. 20,000 marched in the streets of Bonn to protest the war. It was West Germany's biggest antiwar demonstration.

continued from page 1

in the affairs of Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam, and in particular the abhorent disregard for innocent human lives displayed in the almost routine attacks against the civilian populations of those countries." Thus, Sharp puts the actions of the Vietnamese, in defense of their homeland, on the same level as the U.S. imperialist assault. Guerrilla acts are placed on the same level as genocidal bombing.

The government has of course proposed no motion to end Canada's longstanding material, diplomatic and political complicity in the war. War goods and strategic resources will continue to be exported to the U.S. for use against the Vietnamese. Military research for the U.S. war will continue on Canadian university campuses. The nuclear alliances NATO and NORAD have not been challenged by the government's motion.

Sharp used the occasion of the Commons motion to again press forward Canada's "conditions" for its participation in an international supervisory force in Vietnam. The motion itself noted that Canada "may be called upon to play some new supervisory role following cessation of hostilities in Vietnam."

Such a force would be but another form of foreign intervention to deny the Vietnamese their right to self-determination.

While the Vietnamese have been pressured into accepting such a force after the projected ceasefire, the nature of the force is still under dispute in the Paris negotiations. But the Canadian "conditions" correspond almost exactly with the proposed force Nixon and Kissinger are trying to ram down the throats of the Vietnamese. A force designed in the framework of Sharp's conditions would make the supervisory force free from veto power of any of the parties, and responsible not to the Vietnamese but to an undetermined international body. It would be free to move throughout Vietnam with its own transport and communications. Sharp's plan (which is also Nixon's) is for an independent force in operation in Vietnam, free from any restraints, and able to move against the liberation fighters whenever necessary — to justify rigged elections, back up the Thieu regime's territorial claims or maintain the Saigon regime by other means, including the use of armed force. Of the four powers tentatively proposed for the force, Canada and Indonesia can be counted on to back U.S. imperialism to the hilt, as they have consistently done in the past. Hungary and Poland cannot be counted on in any way to defend Vietnamese self-determination since they reflect not the interests of world revolution, but the Soviet bureaucracy's desire for a detente with imperialism and opposition to revolutionary developments that may upset that aim.

The Canadian government position, like its previous positions on the war, are fully consistent with Nixon's war aims. They are designed to use Canada's standing as an independent world power to increase the pressure on the Vietnamese to make more and more concessions to U.S. imperialism.

The House of Commons motion, while it will have little effect in ending the war, has had the effect of spreading confusion in the ranks of the antiwar movement and partisans of the Vietnamese struggle. It has served to reinforce illusions that the proposed ceasefire settlement will bring peace to Vietnam, and that Canada can play a neutral role on an international supervisory force.

The NDP caucus in the House of Commons supported the government motion, and presented no amendments to it. Speaking to the motion, NDP foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin suggested that the resolution might be improved "if it called for the cessation of bombing altogether."

"While we welcome this resolution," said Brewin, "we wish it dealt with the question of signing the treaty negotiated in October, thus bringing hostilities to an end." Brewin made no mention of the record of the Canadian government's complicity in U.S. war crimes, which NDP convention policy is committed to oppose. And no mention was made of Canadian intervention in Vietnam, which the provincial parties in B.C., Alberta and Ontario have publicly opposed.

Rather than demand immediate and **unconditional** withdrawal of all U.S. forces, Brewin raised support of the nine-point proposed settlement, which includes a provision for an international supervisory force. Is the federal NDP caucus now planning to support and campaign for Canadian intervention in

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TORONTO DEMONSTRATORS. When External Affairs Minister Sharp turned up to play Mozart at Toronto Symphony Christmas concert, Vietnam Mobilization Committee picketed outside to protest Nixon's resumption of bombing.

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Vietnam, as its predecessor, the CCF, did at the time of the Korean war?

The Communist Party of Canada has hailed the new government policy. An editorial in the Jan. 10 Canadian Tribune, which reflects the views of the CP, calls the parliamentary motion a "people's victory."

"Fault may be found with the mildness of the rebuke," the Tribune editors write, "but its accomplishment is a major win. The people triumphed and the Nixon war lords were dealt another humiliating blow. Congratulations to the peacemakers!"

A range of liberal figures echo this view, and are working along with the CP to bring the antiwar movement behind the imposed 9-point settlement, which includes Canadian intervention. A new antiwar coalition has been created in a number of Canadian cities, the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Canadians, which is campaigning for Nixon to "sign the agreement now." This committee has to date refused to join in united actions with the wing of the antiwar movement that promotes the long-established demands of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and materiel from Southeast Asia, an end to Canada's complicity in the war, and no Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

In Toronto, a Jan. 18 rally and candlelight procession for "Sign Now" is being counterposed to the united international protest on Jan. 20.

Similarly confused by the proposed Vietnam settlement and the Canadian government's position are a number of groups who have come together in Toronto as the Indochina Solidarity Committee. This coalition is made up of four small groups which consider themselves revolutionary — the ultraleft University of Toronto-based Old Mole, the New Democratic Youth (only a handful of individuals), the Canadian nationalist Canadian Liberation Movement and the Red Circle, which is active in the NDP Left Caucus.

The ISC is united around the two slogans: "Stop the Bombing" and "Victory to the Indochinese Revolution." At its founding meeting, it was unable to agree on the crucial issue of immediate U.S. withdrawal or of Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

Real solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle demands not revolutionary phrase-mongering, but political clarity on the central questions posed in Vietnam today. Defense of the Indochinese revolution requires the building of a mass campaign based on the unconditional right of the Indochinese people to self-determination. That means putting forward the clear and principled demands that the U.S. get out now, and that no foreign "supervisory" or "peacekeeping" force intervene. It means clear opposition to any intervention by our own government. Because of the betrayal of the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking, the Vietnamese may be forced to accept a series of concessions. But antiwar forces and socialists are under no such pressure, and cannot concede on such questions of principle.

Bombings raze North Vietnam

The U.S. government is attempting to hide from the American people, and the people of the world, the horrible effects of the December bombing campaign of Hanoi and Haiphong. The Pentagon has refused to make public an official report describing the extent of the raids and damage they caused.

On Jan. 4 the North Vietnamese government released a preliminary survey of the death and destruction in Hanoi. It stated that 40,000 tons of bombs were dropped by U.S. planes on Hanoi alone in the 10 days beginning Dec. 18, killing 1,318 people and wounding 1,261.

Social, economic, educational, and cultural establishments were bombed in 353 places, some of them as many as 10 times. The casualties were minimized only because two-thirds of the city's one million inhabitants had been evacuated and some protection is provided by the vast network of air-raid shelters.

The number of homeless has not yet been announced, but a total of 5,000 houses and other buildings were destroyed in Hanoi.

On Jan. 7, Agence France-Presse reported that additional bodies were still being found in the rubble of Hanoi.

The destruction in Haiphong was described to journalists by North Vietnamese officials on Jan. 5. Fifteen thousand tons of bombs razed the city, leaving 305 dead, 882 wounded, and 5,800 homes and buildings destroyed.

A Jan. 6 Agence France-Press dispatch asserts: "The results of the bomber attacks can be seen in oval-shaped scars of destruction, one to two miles long and almost a mile across at the widest point . . .

"One major plant that produced cement is now a blackened ruin. There were also oil storage tanks, now split open, a food factory and a shipyard that present a picture of torn metal and mud.

"The mud also covers the straw-roofed houses where about 30,000 people were said to have lived."

The report describes the virtual destruction of the whole western industrial zone of Haiphong.

One incident illustrates the bombing's tragic destruction of Vietnamese cultural achievements. One of those left homeless after the raids was a leading Vietnamese historian. Tran Quoc Vuong. Destroyed with his home in Hanoi were all the reference files he had compiled during his career — 30 years of effort lost.

Columbia law professor Telford Taylor, who was in Hanoi during the raids, compared the defiant spirit of the Vietnamese to the "London pride" of the British people under Nazi bombardment in World War II. The Jan. 8 Time magazine described signs of the bitterness in Hanoi over the bombings: "Here and there on a wall, someone scrawled, 'Nixon, you will pay this blood debt', and 'We will avenge our compatriots massacred by the Americans'."

— The Militant

labor Challenge #71

Lester B. Pearson

'Peacemaker' or powdermonkey?

labor Challenge

#72 Feb. 5 1973

Canada moves in

NO PEACE IN VIETNAM

Canadian soldiers arriving in Saigon

Canada must get out / 2

World protests demand U.S. OUT NOW / 3

Flashback: Canada in Korea / 6-7

Editorial

Canadian forces out of Vietnam!

The United States and North Vietnam completed the signing of the Vietnam ceasefire agreement Jan. 27. The Canadian government moved quickly to join the International Commission for Supervision and Control, the force established under the agreement, which also includes Poland, Hungary and Indonesia. On Jan. 28, 130 Canadian soldiers left for Vietnam. They will be followed by a second contingent, bringing the total Canadian force to 290 men. A Canadian destroyer is heading for Southeast Asian waters to be on hand if it is required.

External Affairs minister Sharp has committed Canadian troops for a 60-day "trial period," but government officials expect that the term will be extended.

There is no peace to keep in Vietnam. At best, there may be an unstable ceasefire with the relationship of forces favoring imperialism. The agreement, under which the U.S. has promised to stop its bombing and withdraw its ground forces, does not end imperialist intervention in Vietnam.

The agreement does not resolve the social, economic and political problems that are at the root of the Vietnam war. There are two armies and two governments in South Vietnam — each representing opposed class forces. On one side is the corrupt Thieu dictatorship, representing the landlords and capitalists and backed by world imperialism. On the other is the National Liberation Front Provisional Revolutionary Government, leading the peasants and workers in their struggle for freedom. The Vietnamese population have been fighting for their liberation for decades. It is unlikely that they will give up that struggle now.

Washington is proceeding to back up the Saigon government with millions of dollars worth of military hardware. Thousands of U.S. "civilian technicians" will be "advising" Thieu's troops. The U.S. fleet of warships and aircraft carriers remains off the Vietnamese coast. The U.S. air armada of B-52s remains in place in Thailand. And the bombing of Laos and Cambodia is still going on.

Canadian forces in Vietnam will serve the interests of U.S. and world imperialism. As a "peacekeeper" in Korea, the Congo and elsewhere, Canada's record is that of counterrevolutionary intervention against popular forces. In Vietnam, as a member of the International Control Commission for 18 years, the Canadian government has consistently fronted for the Pentagon.

A former U.S. marine intelligence officer, David Marr, revealed Jan. 27 that a Canadian member of the ICC supplied information about anti-aircraft emplacements near Hanoi to the U.S. military intelligence in 1964.

With Canadian forces moving in, some who had previously opposed the war are coming behind the intervention. The parliamentary caucus of the NDP has not raised one word of protest against Canadian entry. NDP foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin returned from a visit to Hanoi in early January to invoke the North Vietnamese stated desire that Canada be part of the "supervisory" force. Writing in the Jan. 27 Toronto Star, Brewin states that Canada "cannot refuse as a good citizen of the international community to participate in an observer force." He went on to suggest that the force be put under the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

NDP leader David Lewis said Jan. 24 that he had no objection to the sending of the force, even before a parliamentary debate. This comes despite the clear opposition of the ranks of the party — expressed by the B.C. and Ontario provincial convention which unconditionally opposed Canadian troops going to Vietnam.

Other forces in the antiwar movement have similarly come behind Canadian intervention. The more conservative wing of the movement, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Voice of Women, have also justified their support for Canada's entry on the North Vietnamese government's support for the ceasefire agreement. After all, they say, Canada has been formally invited to participate by Hanoi.

The fact that the North Vietnamese have signed the agreement and invited Canada to join the "supervisory" force does not change the nature of the agreement. It is an **imposed** settlement, forced on the Vietnamese by the U.S. genocidal bombing and the betrayal of Moscow and Peking.

The Canadian antiwar movement is not under such pressure. It has no reason to drop its demands centered on defending the Vietnamese right to self-determination, and opposing all foreign imperialist intervention.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR VIETNAM!
U.S. OUT OF ALL SOUTHEAST ASIA NOW! NO CANADIAN INTERVENTION — WITHDRAW CANADIAN FORCES NOW!

labor Challenge #72

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labor Challenge #72 Feb. 5 1973

U.S. out now!

World protests condemn Nixon's war

by CARL FLEMING

Jan. 20: a day of mass international protest against Nixon's carpet bombing of Indochina.

The largest demonstration was in Washington, D.C., where 100,000 people attended a march and rally at the time of President Nixon's inauguration. "There are more Americans here at the Washington Monument saying 'No' to the war than there are a half-mile away at the inauguration saying 'Yes' to Richard Nixon," National Peace Action Coalition coordinator Jerry Gordon told the crowd. "And that's the real measure of the way things stand today in the USA."

The Washington protest was initiated by NPAC and cosponsored by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. NPAC's slogan was "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!" PCPJ's slogan was "Sign the Treaty Now."

Local demonstrations across the U.S. complemented the Washington demonstration.

Internationally, antiwar demonstrations took place in at least 10 countries, with particularly high attendance in Europe.

A feature of the demonstrations across Canada was the question of Canadian intervention in Vietnam. "If we get those Canadian idiots involved over there it is only a matter of time till the shooting starts all over again," Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Automobile Workers told the Toronto rally. Denouncing Nixon's aggression and Canada's role in it, McDermott said that "Canada should take a first step to end its complicity by refusing to have truck or trade with the Vietnam settlement."

Other speakers at the Toronto march and rally, attended by close to 1,000 people, were Toronto Alderman Dan Heap, Claire Culhane, NDP MPP Patrick Lawlor, Labor Challenge editor George Addison and representatives from participating groups.

Addison, speaking for the League for Socialist Action, pointed out the dangers in the "Sign Now" position: "The Vietnamese are having a settlement imposed on them which they may be forced to accept. We are under no such pressure, and have to continue our principled defense of rights of the Vietnamese opposing any and all foreign intervention, including Canada's, in Vietnam."

The militancy and attendance at the Toronto Jan. 20 action, where the demands "U.S. Out Now!" and "No Canadian Intervention!" predominated, contrasted sharply with a separate march and rally Jan. 18 organized by "Sign Now" forces, and attended by only 400 people.

In Montreal, more than 1,500 people marched in demonstration to the U.S. Consulate. The main demands of the action were "Nixon must sign the agreement on ending the war," "U.S. imperialism out of Indochina," and "Long live the solidarity of the people of Quebec and Indochina." Forces including the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes who support the demand "No Canadian Intervention " and "U.S. Out Now" were excluded from the organization of the demonstration, but joined the action with their own banners, placards and chants.

More than 500 people participated in a united demonstration in Vancouver, addressed by a range of speakers including MLA Harold Steeves, speaking for the B.C. NDP government. Other demonstrations took place in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Ottawa and elsewhere.

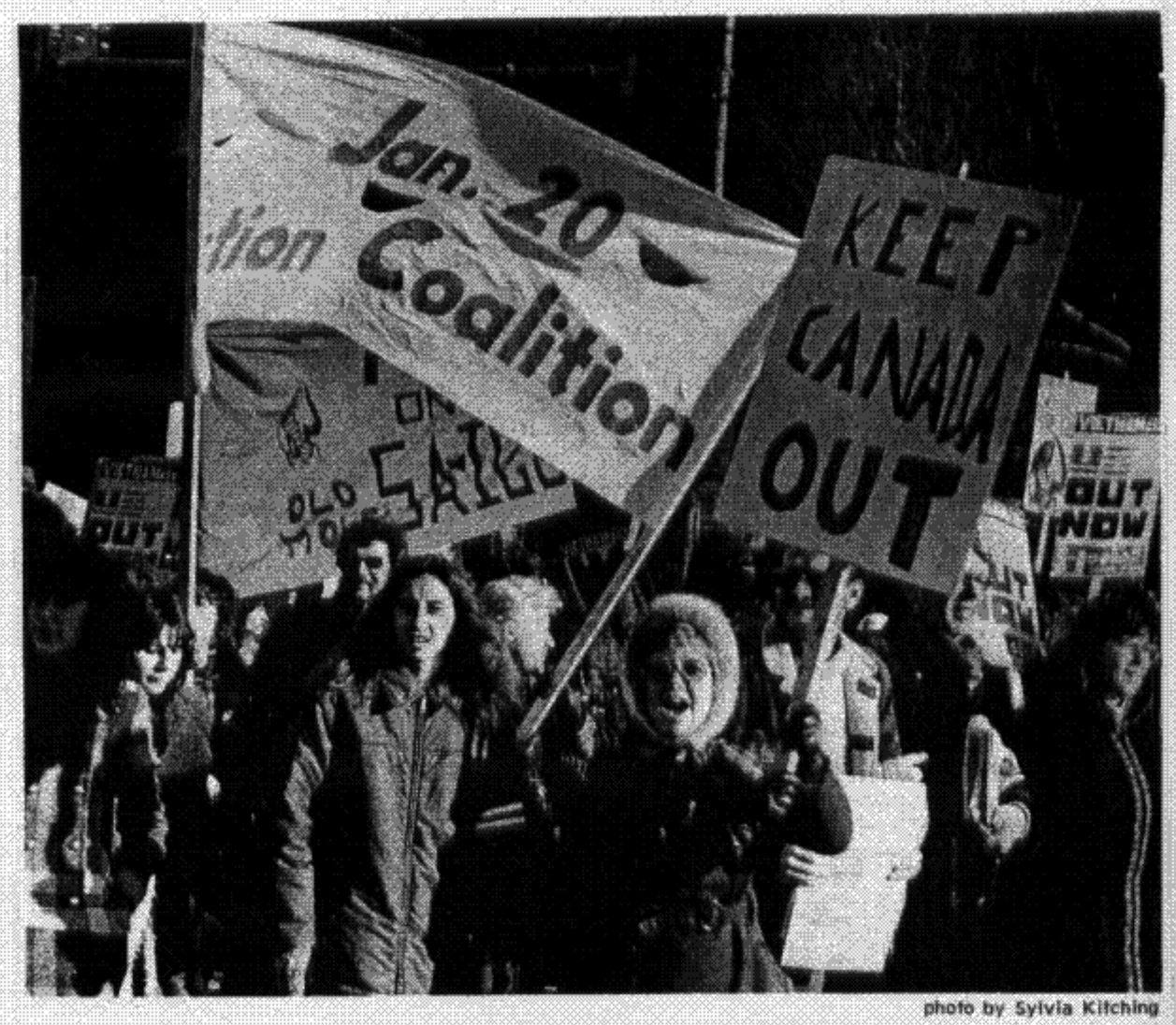

photo by Sylvia Kitching

TORONTO PROTEST AGAINST VIETNAM WAR. Part of Jan. 20 demonstration.

labor Challenge #72

How NOT to defend Vietnamese struggle

by ANNA CUSHMAN

The Jan. 20 antiwar demonstrations featured a sharp differentiation between those who demanded that Nixon sign the Vietnam ceasefire agreement now, and those who maintained the antiwar movement's principled defense of Vietnamese self-determination around the demands "U.S. Out Now" and "No Canadian Intervention." The latter strategy predominated at most of the Canadian demonstrations.

But one grouping in Toronto stood aside from this important debate, counterposing itself to both wings of the antiwar movement. This was the Indochina Solidarity Committee (ISC), a coalition of groups that consider themselves revolutionary. At its founding, it included the ultraleft Old Mole, based on the University of Toronto campus, the Red Circle, a grouping active in the NDP's Left Caucus, the almost-defunct New Democratic Youth and the Canadian nationalist Canadian Liberation Movement.

The demands adopted by the ISC at its founding meeting were "Stop the Bombing" and "Victory to the Indochinese Revolution." The forces within it were unable to agree on the two most crucial questions posed at this time — "Out Now" so "Sign Now;" and the direct intervention of Canadian forces into Vietnam. Calling itself a "revolutionary contingent," the ISC pressed forward its view that the main agitational demand of the antiwar movement be "Victory to the Indochinese Revolution." Yet on the necessary precondition for such a victory — the removal of U.S. troops and materiel as well as any foreign "supervisory" force — the ISC has nothing to say!

The ISC pulled together a contingent which attracted no more than a quarter of the demonstration. the NDY and CLM were nowhere to be seen. As part of the Jan. 20 Action Coalition, the united front body which organized the Toronto demonstration, the ISC agreed to a united marshalling effort and common tactics, to protect the safety of the demonstration and its participants.

Unfortunately, the ISC saw fit to break the agreements which had been made by all participating groups, and tried to lead the demonstration into a confrontation with the police on Yonge Street. The body of the demonstration which had previously agreed not to seize the street, did not follow and continued up the sidewalk. At another point they seized the front of the demonstration by surging in front of the Jan. 20 Action Coalition banner, thereby isolating themselves from the rest of the demonstration. At no time were there more than 100 persons taking part in the antics of the ISC which resembled more a street dance than a protest against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Such dishonest, ultraleft actions have nothing in common with the correct conduct of revolutionaries participating in united action with other forces. Revolutionaries have the responsibility to promote their own views within the united actions, but must not fail to build and defend them. The pressing need today is for the broadest possible actions around the clear, principled demands for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia, and now for an end to Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

Meaning of Viet ceasefire accord /4

labor Challenge

#73
Feb. 19 1973

Why Viet accords don't mean peace

(The following is excerpted from an article in the Feb. 5 issue of Intercontinental Press.)

by JON ROTHSCHILD

The signing of the Vietnam ceasefire accords in Paris on Jan. 27 took place in what New York Times correspondent Flora Lewis called an "eerie silence, without a word or gesture to express the world's relief that the years of war were officially ending."

During the eighteen-minute-long ceremony U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers signed his name to sixty-two pieces of paper that were attached both to multiple copies of the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring the Peace in Vietnam" and to the four accompanying protocols on implementation. If the most conservative available statistics are utilized, we arrive at a figure of 24,000 dead South Vietnamese per signature. Afterwards, Rogers handed out souvenir pens to the assembled aides.

The eerie silence in the grand ballroom of the former Majestic Hotel reflected a prevalent feeling about the accords — one of tense anticipation and anxiety, which is exactly what the agreement deserves. None of the basic issues around which the civil war in South Vietnam has been fought was settled. The implementation of the agreements depends entirely on the goodwill of Thieu and Nixon.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people for national independence and socialism has not been won; it has merely reached a turning point. The United States stands ready to resume its military aggression at any moment, and political, economic and military interference will continue in any case.

WHAT THE AGREEMENT SAYS

The full English text of the accords was released by Nixon on Jan. 24. In substance, the terms do not fundamentally differ from the summary agreement announced Oct. 26 by Radio Hanoi.

In essence, they call for a ceasefire in place, the release of U.S. prisoners of war, the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam within sixty days. Implicitly, two administrations and two armies are recognized in the South — Thieu's and the liberation forces'. They are instructed to settle their differences peacefully through an electoral process.

Young Vietnamese refugees near Long Thanh, Jan. 31. Thieu regime is trying to prevent refugees from returning to areas controlled by National Liberation Front.

On Laos and Cambodia, the agreement is vague. It calls for the withdrawal of all "foreign" troops, which presumably includes North Vietnamese forces. There is no explicit call for a ceasefire in either country. Henry Kissinger told reporters on Jan. 24 that Nixon expected a formal ceasefire in Laos within fifteen days. He said the United States looked forward to a de facto ceasefire in Cambodia and implied that a secret understanding had been reached with Hanoi on this point.

AND WHAT IT MEANS

The contradictory character of the agreement can best be seen by comparing its substance both to the original war aims of U.S. imperialism and to the goals of the Indochinese social revolution.

For nearly a decade, the Indochina war has been the focal point of the international class struggle. The U.S. ruling class showed that it recognized this reality by the immensity of its military and economic commitment to the war effort. In comparison to the size of the territory and population concerned, U.S. imperialism expended more firepower, spent more money, suffered more casualties, and engendered deeper domestic social crises in the course of its campaign against the Indochinese revolution than it had in any previous conflict since the turn of the century.

The aim of three successive U.S. administrations was to guarantee capitalist rule in South Vietnam, to eliminate the National Liberation Front as an effective political force, to create a stable regime in Saigon capable of defending itself against the Vietnamese workers and peasants without direct U.S. intervention and without intolerable amounts of imperialist aid.

Despite the most massive effort in imperialist history, the United States did not succeed. Nixon has been forced to withdraw his troops from Vietnam while allowing North Vietnam to leave its forces in the South. The Saigon regime is far from stabilized, and the liberation forces retain control over a significant section of the South Vietnamese countryside. U.S. imperialism has had to recognize, even if only implicitly, that a state of dual power exists in South Vietnam.

In this respect, the agreement represents a defeat for U.S. imperialism — one for which the Vietnamese people and the international antiwar movement may take full credit. U.S. capitalism's inability to crush the resistance of the Vietnamese people has provided the world with a convincing demonstration of the power of the colonial revolution. The central post-second-world-war effort of the

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American ruling class — to inaugurate an indefinite period of unrestricted U.S. empire-building — has received a decisive setback. The resistance of the Vietnamese workers and peasants likewise touched off a wave of radicalization, particularly among the youth on a worldwide scale.

The ability of the Vietnamese people to resist U.S. domination and the radicalization and mobilization generated by the antiwar movement will seriously restrict U.S. imperialism's ability to carry out similar interventions in other sectors of the colonial revolution. This in itself — whatever may be the final outcome of the struggle in South Vietnam — represents a major achievement for the world revolution.

BETRAYAL BY PEKING AND MOSCOW

But all this is only one side of the impact of the ceasefire agreement on world politics. The accords must be viewed not simply in light of what the U.S. rulers failed to achieve, but also in light of what the Vietnamese revolution could have achieved but did not.

The socialist revolution in South Vietnam has not been victorious. The Thieu regime remains in power; capitalist social relations have not been overturned; the South Vietnamese peasantry has not gained control over its land; the Vietnamese people have not won the right of self-determination.

Chief responsibility for this lies with the bureaucrats who govern in Moscow and Peking. Were it not for the Stalinist betrayal of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, a betrayal that began with the first introduction of imperialist troops into Indochina and which deepened progressively as the war dragged on, the Vietnamese people would today be celebrating the unification of their country and the victory of a workers state over imperialism.

The Moscow and Peking bureaucracies could have ended the U.S. aggression in the middle 1960s. Had they made clear to Johnson that attacks on the North Vietnamese workers' state would not be tolerated, had they provided the Vietnamese sufficient weaponry to defend themselves, had they called for the mobilization of the mass Stalinist parties on a world scale, the U.S. government would have backed down.

This is not mere speculation. The Pentagon Papers demonstrate that at every stage in the escalation of the war, U.S. policy makers paused to examine the Soviet and Chinese responses with utmost care. And at every critical point, Moscow's and Peking's failure to respond opened the way for fresh escalation.

But it was in 1971-1972 that the bueaucratic betrayal had its worst effect. While the bombing of Vietnam was reaching its most intense level, Chairman Mao arranged Nixon's visit to Peking. Throughout the last months of 1971, when the bombing was escalated in conjunction with the "Vietnamization" policy, the Maoists proceeded apace with preparations for the Peking summit.

Days before Nixon's arrival in Peking, U.S. planes conducted their heaviest bombing of Laos and Cambodia since 1970; the bombing of North Vietnam reached record levels. In the midst of this military aggression, the Peking leaders welcomed Nixon in their capital.

The Peking summit-betrayal paved the way for the Moscow festivities. On May 8 Nixon did what Lyndon Johnson had feared to do: He mined North Vietnam's ports and waterways. All overland supply routes connecting China and Vietnam were ordered destroyed. Nixon informed Soviet leaders that he could not take responsibility for casualties suffered by Soviet ships trying to run the blockade.

Nevertheless, the Kremlin declined to respond.

The Kremlin's message was missed by no one. The detente with Washington would go on. There was nothing Nixon could do to the Vietnamese people that would bar that development.

The Kremlin's political betrayal of the Vietnamese was paralleled by a military one. When Hanoi and Haiphong faced massive bombing by B-52s, the cities were defended by SAM-2 missiles, outmoded weapons against which B-52s can defend themselves. The Vietnamese were never provided with the low-range SAM-3, which is the best defense against the low-flying U.S. Phantom fighter-bomber. The Vietnamese were never provided with the advanced SAM-4, incomparably more effective against the B-52 than the SAM-2.

History will judge the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats guilty of direct complicity with one of humanity's bloodiest war criminals.

But also on the part of the North Vietnamese, the lack of a consistently revolutionary leadership exacted a toll. By insisting on waging the struggle in the South on the basis of a popular-front program based purely on nationalism, the North Vietnamese leaders weakened the potential power of the Southern movement. The struggle in the urban centers — now more important than ever — was especially weakened through this policy.

By restricting the movement's program to national demands, by playing down the class aspect of the war, the North Vietnamese and NLF leaders also hampered their ability to appeal directly to the U.S. troops.

To arrange the settlement itself, the North Vietnamese leaders allowed themselves to be drawn into secret diplomacy, a practice the Bolshevik revolutionists scrupulously avoided. And they have portrayed the settlement purely as a victory for the Vietnamese people, a one-sided interpretation that can only hinder the vigilance of the antiwar movement and of the Vietnamese masses by sowing illusions about the future.

Regardless of Moscow's and Peking's commitment to peace-and-quiet in Indochina, the intensity of the class struggle there is certain to rise, perhaps even in the immediate future. The dual-power situation legitimized by the agreement is inherently unstable. The prospect for South Vietnam is continued civil war. The question is, on what terms?

→p.3

UAW opposes Canadian force

Meeting in Windsor Jan. 13 and 14, the Canadian United Autoworkers Council passed the following resolution:

"WHEREAS: Canada, since World War II, has built a reputation for its peacekeeping forces in various trouble spots around the world; and

"WHEREAS: Canada participated in the International Control Commission in Indochina emerging out of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Conferences; and

"WHEREAS: Canadian government leaders admit frankly now that their role on the Control Commission in Indochina was reduced to 'impotence' by the Americans and Canada found itself being 'used' as 'brokers' by the U.S.;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Canadian UAW Council calls on the Canadian government to have nothing to do with the Vietnam War, before, during or after the fact, and we ask Ottawa to refuse to take part in even a post-ceasefire supervisory body in Vietnam except upon the specific request of the United Nations."

Despite the expressed illusions in the United Nations and Canada's foreign policy as a "peacekeeper," this is an important resolution. It marks the first time a major labor body has spoken out in opposition to Canadian participation on the International Commission for Control and Supervision in Vietnam. As such, it clearly contradicts the line of the NDP federal leadership.

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THIEU'S COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY TERROR

Thieu has already demonstrated that he regards the essence of the agreement to be a recognition of his own sovereignty and that he views the rhetoric about democracy, national reconciliation and concord as face-saving window-dressing for the liberation forces. For the Saigon government, the accords represent a license for white terror.

The estimated number of political prisoners in South Vietnam must be revised upward. In addition to the 200,000 who are held in buildings or other structures known as "jails," there are at least 600,000 held under armed guard against their will in places known by the more attractive designation "relocation centers."

There is, however, a difference in the two categories. While the refugees can expect indefinite confinement, the prisoners may be subjected to far worse treatment. Continuing reports of conditions in South Vietnam's prison camps have moved Amnesty International to take up the case of the prisoners' defense. In a Jan. 26 statement issued in London, the organization declared, "The Vietnam peace settlement has failed to provide adequate safeguards for the estimated 100,000 civilian detainees in South Vietnam. (The low figure and the use of the term "detainees" may be taken as evidence of the group's respectability.) There is real danger that key members of the South Vietnamese non-Communist opposition who are detained will be killed before the supervisory commissions come into operation."

The group noted that there was "evidence that selective elimination of opposition members has begun."

Such is Thieu's scenario. Recalcitrant political prisoners will be liquidated, hundreds of thousands of people will remain behind barbed wire in government-held areas, persons believed to be sympathetic to the liberation forces will be summarily arrested and-or executed, newspapers hostile to the regime will be suppressed, demonstrations and all other forms of political activity not sanctioned by the government will be proscribed, citizens whose photographs are retained in police files will be restricted to their houses, persons who turn up in someone's house other than their own and have the misfortune to be detected will be arrested.

It can further be expected that those seized for all these "crimes" will be classified as common criminals, not political prisoners, and thus will be unaffected by Article 7 of the "Protocol on the Prisoners."

AND THE POPULAR RESISTANCE

Fundamentally, Thieu's draconian decrees represent the continuation of the civil war by the counterrevolutionary forces. This offensive will inevitably be met by resistance from the population. The unknown quantities in the situation are the response of the leadership of the revolutionary forces and the ability of the population to continue its struggle.

The same questions raised by the announcement of the October draft accords are raised by the present agreement: Will the North Vietnamese army come to the aid of the PRG NLF forces against Thieu's repression? Will the North Vietnamese defend their own base areas or will they gradually withdraw? Is the NLF infrastructure sufficiently intact to take on Thieu's army and police, the latter being deprived of the assistance of U.S. bombing? To what extent has the Southern population been temporarily demoralized by the years of genocidal bombing? Have the liberation forces been able to preserve their cadres in the cities, which will increasingly become the centers of struggle in the post-ceasefire period? Given Thieu's violations of the agreement, will Hanoi and the Southern liberation forces find ways of circumventing those sections of the accords that would prevent them from fighting back?

On the positive side, it is clear that the agreement is sufficiently vague and unenforceable where it is not desirable — to permit determined resistance by the liberation forces. For example, the machinery established to "police" the agreement is completely inadequate from the viewpoint of U.S. imperialism. Nixon had pressed in the Paris negotiations for a massive deployment of troops representing the International Commission of Control and Supervision. In this he was not successful. The ICCS will have a total of 1,160 members, 290 from each country.

Real inspection, then, will be carried out by fifty-five teams of thirty persons each. The two teams assigned to the demilitarized zone (DMZ) will have twelve members each. The 600-mile-long South Vietnamese border will be policed by 26 inspection teams. An article in the Jan. 26 Washington Post ob-

Le Duc Tho and Henry Kissinger after negotiating ceasefire agreement.

(U.S.) Army sources noted one time (1968-69) 54 U.S. Forces border-watching had dotted the jungles and facing Cambodia and heavy North Vietnamese still occurred."

well-trained Green Berets

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←p.3

were unequal to the policing task, it is certain that a much smaller number of inspection teams will fare much worse, **if the North Vietnamese leaders decide not to abandon their comrades in the South.**

The military clashes that took place in the last days before the cease-fire went into effect indicated that the Saigon army is still unable to cope with the liberation forces on an equal basis. The Jan. 22 Washington Post carried a report of heavy fighting in the Michelin rubber plantation forty miles northwest of Saigon. There were "strong indications," the report pointed out, that "two South Vietnamese battalions were decimated."

Will the liberation forces exploit this weakness? Will they be able to organize the urban population into mass action — necessarily including armed self-defense — against the government's political and economic repression? That Thieu will continue the civil war is certain. For the future of the Vietnamese and Indochinese revolution, the central question will be whether the liberation forces will do so also — and in an organized way.

If they adhere to the provisions of the agreement on the sanctity of the demilitarized zone and on the "peaceful" solution to political conflicts while Thieu systematically violates all the democratic aspects of the accord with full U.S. support, the Vietnamese revolution will sustain a grave, and perhaps long-lasting setback.

THE QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP

In the weeks and months following the signing of the Paris agreement, the quality of the leadership of the liberation forces will be the decisive factor in the Vietnamese revolutionary struggle. The emergence and development of a consistently revolutionary vanguard is an absolute necessity. Without it, the Thieu regime and its Washington backers will isolate and destroy the liberation forces; and the ability of the antiwar movement to mobilize its forces will be significantly diminished.

If a revolutionary Marxist leadership does emerge, if Thieu's counter-revolutionary offensive is answered with revolutionary struggle in the pattern set by the Bolsheviks, there is no reason to suppose that the Saigon puppets will be any more successful than they have been in the past.

A report in the Jan. 28 New York Times quoted an unidentified "well-informed South Vietnamese official" as saying that the Nixon regime had informed both Saigon and Hanoi that "if the cease-fire is violated in a blatant way, the United States will intervene again immediately."

The agreement signed in Paris allows the United States to maintain unlimited military force based in Thailand, on Pacific installations like Guam, and on the Seventh Fleet, which will continue to patrol the waters off the coast of Vietnam. Massive bombing of Vietnam can be resumed immediately should Nixon decide that the Vietnamese people have violated the Paris agreement. The Saigon clique has already demolished the accords. Nixon's position is that the liberation forces must adhere to them anyway — or face renewed U.S. aggression.

The December saturation bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong was ended only because of the heroic resistance of the North Vietnamese people and the mobilization of the international antiwar movement — especially the actions carried out by trade unions against U.S. capitalism. Nixon has now attempted to demobilize the anti-war movement by insisting that there is nothing more for it to do.

To fold up the movement of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution at the current decisive stage would be to grant U.S. imperialism a free hand to renew its war. To mistake a turning point in the Indochinese war for its conclusion would be to ignore all the lessons of the conflict's twenty-five year history.

The antiwar movement was built on the premise that the United States has no right to negotiate anything related to the future of the Indochinese people. That struggle — to compel U.S. imperialism to get out of Indochina — has not yet been won.

labor Challenge #73 Feb. 19 1973

U.S. exiles seek complete amnesty

By GERRY REGAN

The American exile community in Canada and around the world has been engaged in a debate for more than a year on the situation in Vietnam and the possibility of an amnesty to draft resisters and deserters from the U.S. armed forces. The debate will culminate with a three-day conference in Paris, beginning Feb. 19, sponsored by AMEX (the Canadian exile magazine based in Toronto), Up from Exile (a group in Sweden) and Safe Return (a New York-based group calling for an "unconditional, universal amnesty").

To date, the call for amnesty has been primarily expressed by American liberal and church groups. The Paris conference will be the largest expression of opinion ever on this issue by Americans abroad. A number of bills have been entered in the U.S. Congress calling for amnesty, with the condition that exiles returning must accept "alternative service" (Peace Corps, medical service, etc.) for up to three years without pay.

Exiles have almost unanimously refused any clauses on amnesty acts with conditions. Americans who left the U.S. rather than serve the Pentagon war machine are not guilty of crimes. As one Toronto exile put it: "They want to punish us for being right in the first place."

Any amnesty law that attempts to make the exiles pay for repatriation can only be viewed as an attempt to justify the decades of war crimes committed by the U.S. government against the people of Vietnam.

While many Americans are happy to make their home in Canada, there are others who do not have that choice and to them amnesty is the only alternative. Stringent immigration laws implemented by the Trudeau government are highly discriminatory.

It has also been noted in a number of American publications that there is a distinction in class terms between the draft "dodger" and the deserter. The former tends to be better educated and favored by the Canadian immigration laws. On the other hand, the deserter is most often from a working class background, having had less educational opportunities and is more often mistreated by Canadian immigration officials. The Black exile is even more discriminated against by the immigration system.

The demand for an unconditional amnesty for all resisters of the Vietnam war must be coupled with a continuing campaign against all U.S. involvement in Indochina. Here in Canada, exiles cannot be distracted from the fact that the most immediate means of opposing the Vietnam war and thereby bringing amnesty closer is by joining other antiwar forces in actions demanding the withdrawal of Canadian forces from Vietnam.

While exiles seek amnesty, they also must not forget that the draft resisters and deserters are not the only people that amnesty must reach. Amnesty must cover all political prisoners related to the war and the antiwar movement around the world. The Saigon dictator Thieu has rounded up hundreds of thousands of his opponents in recent months, threatening now to murder them. Karl Armstrong awaits deportation here in Canada.

The Paris conference of American exiles represents an important opportunity to show solidarity with the people of Indochina by calling for continuing actions leading to the total withdrawal of all American military personnel and material from all Southeast Asia. The conference must also call for unrestricted travel in all countries, an end to the nuclear alliance NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), withdrawal of "supervisory" forces from Indochina, an end to war research, release of political prisoners in Vietnam, and an end to arms sales to the U.S. from countries like Canada.

Editorial

Canadian forces aid imperialism

A remarkable account of life in territory controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) in South Vietnam appeared in the Feb. 7 Toronto Globe and Mail. Reporter James Anderson and other newsmen visited Vinh Long hamlet a short distance off a main road in the Mekong Delta. Greeted hospitably by the PRG village leaders, Anderson reported higher morale and better conditions that in Saigon-controlled hamlets.

But the visit was cut short. "Late in the afternoon," Anderson writes, "artillery shells started landing in the area and a platoon of South Vietnamese soldiers were moving toward the hamlet from the main road about a mile away."

The incident reported by Anderson underlines the unstable, dual power situation in South Vietnam, with a ceasefire supposedly agreed to, yet civil war continuing, launched by the repressive Thieu regime. The incident also pointed to the central role Canada is playing in the situation, as a member of the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS).

"When is the international commission coming?" the villagers and PRG leaders repeatedly asked Anderson.

Why is Canada there? External Affairs minister Sharp has repeatedly stressed that this is not a "peacekeeping" or police force. Rather, it is an unarmed (except for service revolvers) force sent to observe the ceasefire.

But even though the U.S. was unable to force the North Vietnamese and the PRG to accept a larger, more mobile and armed force, the ICCS presents grave dangers for the Vietnamese freedom struggle.

The very presence of the ICCS violates the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their own future without foreign interference. The ICCS will report both to a council of the Vietnamese parties, and to an international body, which will be making decisions over the heads of the Vietnamese. As such, defenders of the rights of the Vietnamese cannot support the ICCS.

The main role of the ICCS is not necessarily military (although there is a danger that the force may provide a beachhead for wider imperialist intervention), but political at this time. It is designed to give an international stamp of approval on the ceasefire settlement, and to placate international public opinion, which might question aspects of the accords.

In addition, within Vietnam itself, the Canadian force itself can play a valuable role for world imperialism in backing up the territorial and political claims of the Thieu regime, which is now launching a counterrevolutionary offensive throughout South Vietnam. Where will Canada stand when it has to judge who controls certain territories under dispute? Where will Canada stand when the proposed elections are rigged or cancelled by Thieu? Can there be any doubt that Canada's rulers, who have consistently backed U.S. war aims in Vietnam for the last 18 years, will continue to do so today?

This is a question on which the Canadian left is badly disoriented. The leadership of the federal NDP supports the force, in flagrant violation of the opinion of the ranks of the party, who voted overwhelmingly at provincial conventions in B.C. and Ontario against Canadian intervention. Federal caucus external affairs critic Andrew Brewin defends the force on the grounds that it is not armed, and because the North Vietnamese asked for it. Brewin's opinion is shared by the Communist Party, which in line with its support for the Washington-Moscow detente, presents the imposed settlement as a victory for the Vietnamese freedom fighters. A number of Canadian ultraleft groups similarly support the ceasefire settlement and Canadian intervention.

But a position for or against Canadian intervention must be based on basic principles, not on invitations from one or another party in the conflict. The Vietnamese in 1945 welcomed British troops who proceeded to re-install the French colonialist regime. Should we have supported the British intervention? Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba invited United Nations troops to enter the Congo in 1960, and the UN then isolated him and opened the way for his overthrow and murder. Should we have supported the UN force, which included Canadians? The overhwelming majority of the Northern Irish Catholic population welcomed British troops in 1969. Should we support the armed occupation of northern Ireland?

No. Supporters of the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination must continue their principled opposition to any and all foreign intervention. This means in Canada the building of a campaign for the immediate withdrawal of Canadian forces.

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labor Challenge #73 Feb. 19 1973

Letters

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief — where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Criticizes article on antiwar action

Toronto, Ont.

Anna Cushman's article "How Not To Defend the Vietnamese Struggle" (Labor Challenge, Feb. 5) contained a number of factual distortions, some bordering on outright prevarication, which we of the Indochina Solidarity Committee (ISC) feel bound to refute. The article also contained a number of political formulations which in our view betray a level of political confusion unworthy of a revolutionary militant with the experience and organizational affiliation of Anna Cushman.

The first claim made in Cushman's article is that the ISC "stood aside" from the debate within the antiwar movement between " . . . those who demanded that Nixon sign the Vietnam ceasefire agreement now and those who maintained the antiwar movement's principled defense of Vietnamese self-determination around the demands 'U.S. Out Now' and 'No Canadian Troops.' " It is undoubtedly true that the ISC did not resolve this question within the coalition of forces assembled under its umbrella, but the claim that this fact can reasonably be used as a basis for characterizing the political thrust of the ISC has a very peculiar ring, coming as it does through the pages of Labor Challenge.

It is well known and surely even Cushman and Labor Challenge would not deny that the Vietnam Mobilization Committee (VMC), of which she is a leading spokesperson, participated in the Jan. 20 action under the umbrella of the Jan. 20 Action Coalition. As evidenced by the demands — "Stop the Bombing," "Stop the War" — adopted by the Jan. 20 Action Coalition it would seem, if one were to adopt Cushman's argument, that the Coalition also "stood aside" from the debate within the antiwar movement. Cushman quite correctly characterizes that debate as being very important. Indeed the Jan. 20 Action Coalition actively sought the participation of groups who held the "Sign Now" position, and the slogans "Stop the Bombing" and "Stop the War" were clearly adopted to make their participation possible.

In defending the participation of the VMC in a coalition in which the debate between "Out Now" and "Sign Now" was not resolved, Cushman would no doubt want to draw a distinction between a coalition of forces which seeks unity in action around a limited number of agreed slogans, and the much broader political positions of the groups making up the coalition. We certainly make this distinction and we therefore wonder why Cushman finds it necessary to level this foolish "charge" against the ISC, when her organization also participates in "action coalitions" which do not resolve all the debates within the ranks.

We might also add that the slogan "Stop the Bombing — Stop the War" in no way addresses itself to the "necessary precondition" for the victory of the Indochinese revolution. Indeed this slogan is not necessarily inconsistent with the position articulated by bourgeois critics of Nixon's war policies. It could also be argued that this slogan represents an adaptation, if not a capitulation, to bourgeois pacifist sentiment.

Cushman makes two further charges of a political nature against the ISC, which in our view are without foundation. She first of all claims that the ISC "counterposed itself to both wings of the antiwar movement." In our efforts to build a contingent for participation in the Jan. 20 action we counterposed ourselves only to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Ottawa. Through the agitational line (not "agitational demand" as Cushman calls it) of Victory to the Indo-Chinese Revolution our objective was to mobilize a particular segment of antiwar activists for participation in a common action with other antiwar forces. It is difficult to understand how we can be charged with "counterposing" ourselves to any genuine antiwar forces, least of all to the VMC.

The most unprincipled and we might add most divisive charge raised by Cushman is her claim that "on the necessary precondition for such a victory (i.e. the victory of the Indochinese revolution) — the removal of U.S. troops and material as well as any foreign 'supervisory' force — the ISC has nothing to say!" This is pure nonsense! Anyone who participated in the Jan. 20 action would surely have noted that within the ISC contingent the demands "U.S. Imperialism Out of Indochina" and "No Canadian Troops" were very prominently carried. It is true that the slogan "Sign Now" was also carried by some who marched in the ISC contingent, but this was also true of some of the participants in the Jan. 20 Action Coalition contingent.

The ISC is a United Front of revolutionary groups and individuals committed to organizing people on the basis of an explicit solidarity with the Indochinese revolution. Within that context the debate between those who also support the demands "Out Now" and "No Canadian Troops," and those who supported "Sign Now" has been and will continue to be rigorously pursued.

Having failed to make a convincing political argument, Cushman then stoops to an attempt to smear the reputation of ISC supporters by accusing them of "dishonest, ultraleft actions," a charge which is patently false and highly sectarian. She claims that ISC saw fit to break "agreements" which had been made by all participating groups, and tried to lead the demonstration into a confrontation with the police on Yonge St. The simple fact is that no "agreement" on the question of marching or not marching on Yonge

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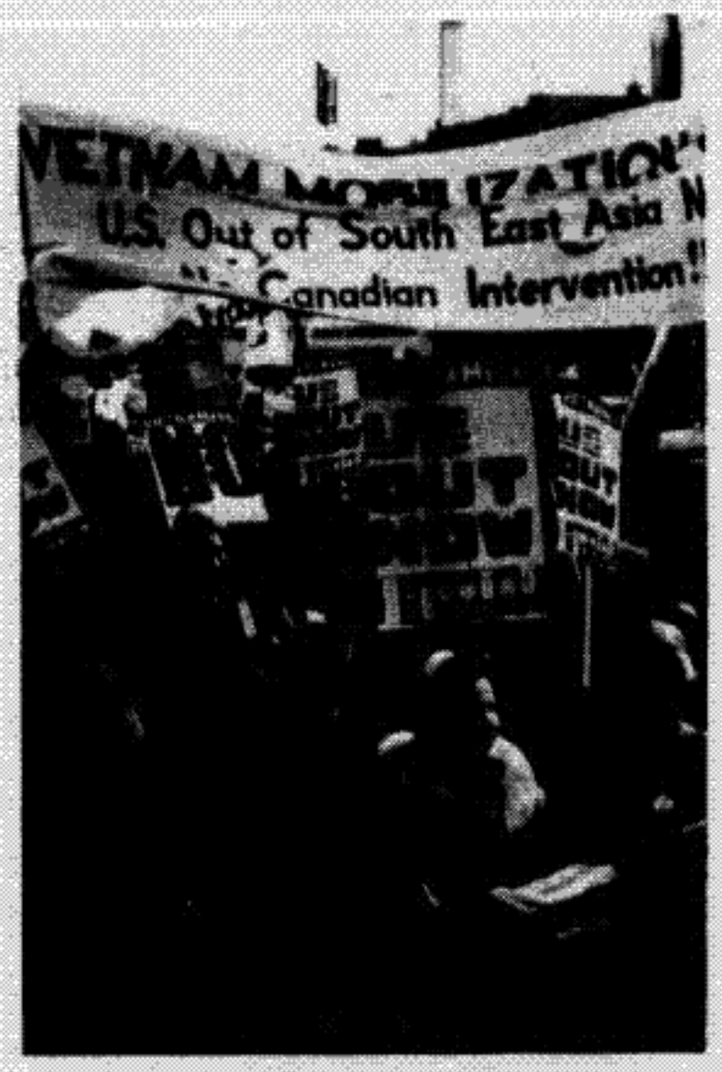

Jan 20 antiwar demonstration.

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St. was ever made. This is clearly attested to by the fact that leaders of the VMC and the Jan. 20 Action Coalition were themselves divided on whether or not to support the attempt to march on Yonge St. For example the author of this letter spoke to George Addison of the VMC minutes after the incident in order to protest the action of Jan. 20 Coalition marshals in forcing the demonstration back onto the sidew Addison denied that the mars had done so, and went on to st that in fact the Coalition for marshals and all, "moved right into the street" with those who initiated the move. If the agreem to which Cushman refers re existed it is curious that Com Addison, who played such a key in organizing the demonstra was not aware of it either. The m on to Yonge St. was in fact a sp taneous action on the part o sizeable segment of the dem stration which the majority of demonstrators seemed qu prepared to follow. For this rea and in the absence of "agreement," the ISC mars made no move to squelch it.

The claim that this move w have led to a "confrontation with police" has no basis in the reali the situation. The simple fact is the police made no aggres moves to force the demonstra back onto the sidewalk. Had threat of a confrontation appe there was ample time to preve by the timely actions of the shals.

The most ludicrous charge r by Cushman is that the ISC seized the front of the demonstra by surging in front of the Jan Action Coalition banner." assume that what Cushman referring to is the point in the m when a large group of A Coalition marshals linked arm form a line across the full wid the road **behind** a small sectio the demonstration which bec separated from the main body. simple fact is that by the time march reached University there no longer were recogniz contingents, since people banners from all contingents mixed (as the photograph a Cushman's article clearly sho The group which Cushman iden as the ISC contingent "seizing" front of the demonstration was up of people from all contin who became momentarily separ from the body of the march purely accidental way.

As we have demonstrated, C man's article is not only confu but also borders on the slander

It is the kind of sectarian at which has no place on the left. To the title of Cushman's article, clearly an example of how no defend the Vietnamese struggle

With comradely greeti

Joe Fl

for the Indochina Solida

Comm

A reply

Anna Cushman replies — Joe F errs in equating the Jan. 20 A Coalition, an "umbr organization set up for one sp action on no political line sav position to the bombing and the with ongoing antiwar organiz like the Vietnam Mobiliz Committee and the Indoc Solidarity Committee, which voice a principled position on h end the war. Both the VMC an ISC intervened in the Ja demonstration around respective positions. The cri of the ISC in my article was di at a group that claimed t "revolutionary" yet could fi agreement in its ranks on the c political questions posed at time.

The ISC did not project itself means to unite a broad spectr antiwar forces (as the VMC within the framework of a prin program that does not compr the Vietnamese right to determination), but announced as a coalition in solidarity wi Vietnamese revolution. F characterizes the ISC's rol projecting an "agitational li victory to the Indoch

see p

continued from page 2

revolution." The ISC, therefore, set out to project its own political line into the demonstration, something the Jan. 20 Action Coalition consciously did not do in order to permit the diverse antiwar and pacifist forces to stage a united action on that day. Within the demonstration, the VMC advanced the program of "Out Now," "No Canadian Intervention" and "Self-determination for Vietnam." The ISC — the "revolutionary" coalition — because it could not come to agreement on "Sign Now" vs. "Out Now," was incapable of taking a principled and revolutionary position on the most important question of all. We can only ask — since the "revolutionaries" couldn't arrive at a revolutionary position, what purpose could the ISC possibly serve? If not simply to counterpose itself to the program and role of the VMC with a vacuous appeal for a revolutionary victory in Vietnam and an utter failure to pose and support concrete measures to aid that struggle, why did Flexer and others bother to set up the ISC?

It is good to be assured that the debate between those for the Vietnam ceasefire agreement and those who stand for immediate withdrawal and oppose Canadian intervention will be "rigorously pursued" in the ISC. The ISC's incapacity to take a principled position on those critical questions would indicate that the elements which the ISC brought together stand in need of the kind of education which the VMC has consistently carried out over years of organizing mass-oriented demonstrations against the war.

What did happen on Jan. 20? The fact remains, that the ISC committed itself to a joint marshalling strategy with other forces on the demonstration. The marshals meeting on the morning of Jan. 20 planned the route and tactics of the march. It was clearly established at that time that we would not attempt to seize Yonge St., and that the Jan. 20 banner would lead the march. This was repeated to the whole assembly before the march began, with no objection raised by ISC members.

Perhaps the marshals and leaders of the ISC contingent were unable to restrain many of their followers from disrupting the Jan. 20 march. If this, and not the intentions of the ISC initiators, is the explanation of the attempts to disrupt the demonstration, then I would suggest that the ISC also place on its agenda a rigorous discussion of the importance of carrying out common and democratically-agreed ground rules of united actions. If in the future common actions can be held in the absence of disruptions and actions which fracture their unity, political clarity will at least have a chance to pierce through.

...Reply to ISC

Labor Challenge #74 Mar. 5 1973

Peking, Moscow view ceasefire

(The following article is abridged from Intercontinental Press.)

by JON ROTHSCHILD

An editorial published in the Jan. 28 issue of Renmin Ribao, the leading newspaper of the Chinese Communist party, called the Vietnam cease-fire agreement a "brilliant victory" for the liberation forces. The article noted two respects in which the accords allegedly represent an advance for the people of Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese question could now be solved, the Maoist journal claimed, "without outside armed intervention." And the end of the fighting would have a "positive influence on the reduction in tension in Asia and the world."

On Feb. 1, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai made his first public comment on the agreement. At a Peking banquet honoring chief North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho, Chou called the accords a great victory and paid special tribute to the "valiant, tenacious, inspiring, and heart-stirring struggle under difficult conditions" that had been waged by the Vietnamese liberation forces.

Chou's remarks were apparently greeted approvingly by the assembled dignitaries. But he neglected to mention that his own government played a not inconsequential part in making the already difficult conditions of the Vietnamese struggle still more difficult. Peking was congratulated for its role, however, by an authority who, while lacking Chou's extensive knowledge of the specifics of Chinese aid to the Vietnamese, had enjoyed the advantage of participation in U.S. strategy sessions on how to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

Speaking on the U.S. television program "Meet the Press" on Jan. 28, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William H. Sullivan, former U.S. ambassador to Laos and recently Henry Kissinger's right-hand man during the secret Paris negotiations, explained the dynamics of the process leading to the cease-fire:

"It is very clear that the attitude of China has had a great deal to do with the way in which this situation has worked out."

The Chinese leadership, Sullivan said, was put on the spot when Nixon clamped the blockade on North Vietnam last May 8. This "produced a situation in which North Vietnam became 100 percent dependent upon China for the provision of its equipment.

"Everything from the Soviet Union had to transit Chinese territory. Nothing could go through the waters and come into Haiphong overseas. This means that China's preoccupation with Soviet encirclement came into play. This means that China's feeling that it would rather have four Balkanized states in Indochina rather than an Indochina dominated by Hanoi and possibly susceptible to Moscow, came into play."

Sullivan concluded that as a result of "calculating" the quantity of supplies they could get through China, the North Vietnamese leaders "probably came to the conclusion that they had to drop all these demands that they had sought continuously since 1968: the overthrow of President Thieu, the establishment of a coalition government, the cutoff of all American support (to Saigon) . . ."

Flora Lewis, the New York Times correspondent who covered the Paris negotiations, shares Sullivan's analysis. On Jan. 30 she wrote that "the United States helped China gain control over the flow of supplies to North Vietnam (!) by shutting off Soviet sea routes when it mined Haiphong and other ports. That increased Peking's leverage on Hanoi.

"In the American analysis, Peking now opposes the idea of Hanoi's domination of the Indochinese peninsula, for fear that this would permit an entrenched Soviet influence on China's southern flank. Therefore, with the sea lanes shut, Peking measured carefully its nourishment of North Vietnam's offensive capacity, to help convince Hanoi that a compromise settlement was essential."

It might be hoped that such reports are nothing but CIA-inspired slander, brazen attempts to introduce dissension into the "socialist camp," perhaps even provocations planted by Khrushchevite revisionists who have infiltrated the State Department. But unfortunately, there is corroborating evidence — from Chou En-lai himself.

In the middle of January, Takeo Kimura, a member of the ruling Liberal Democratic party in Japan, visited China with several other Japanese luminaries. Naturally, they had discussions with Chou, who, they report, made two important points in the course of their talks about the future of the Asian continent. First, as reported in the Jan. 29 Washington Post, Chou said that the Vietnam ceasefire would not bring peace to Asia. Not because the United States and its Saigon puppets intend to press on in their counterrevolution — Renmin Ribao has already proclaimed that the Vietnamese need no longer fear "outside armed intervention" — but because

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"a certain country would not give up its attempt to dominate the area."

"The Chinese leader," the Washington Post explained, "explicitly exonerated the United States, saying that Washington and Peking had agreed not to seek hegemony over Asia and the Pacific . . ." The "certain country" is the Soviet Union unless, of course, the Maoists have North Vietnam in mind.

Chou's second observation had to do with U.S.-Japanese relations. Kimura's account was reported in the Jan. 20 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde: "In the future, the Japanese-American Security treaty will cease to exist, Japan being an independent country. But for the present, since Japan needs the protection of the American nuclear umbrella, it is inevitable, Mr. Chou En-lai believes, that the treaty be preserved. It is in the context of Japan's relationship with the Soviet Union that this is necessary, and not because of Japan's relations with China. It would serve no purpose for Japan to pass from the American atomic umbrella to the Chinese, because Chinese nuclear arms are not of an offensive type."

Peking's predominant concern is to outbid its rivals in Moscow for the favor of U.S. imperialism, to ensure that the American ruling class is convinced that Chairman Mao is fully committed to the new "Concert of Asia," even if that entails a continued massive U.S. military presence.

It cannot be said that the Soviet leaders have ceded victory to Peking in the struggle for accommodation with Nixon. On Jan. 30, the Kremlin bureaucrats had their own banquet for Le Duc Tho. Communist party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev took the occasion to make a speech. "New possibilities for easing tension, for consolidating security and world peace open now," he said. "The political settlement in Vietnam can be expected to have a positive effect on relations among states involved in one way or another in events in Indochina. Moreover, this shows it is possible to find a peaceful and just solution to other conflicts, to liquidate the danger from existing hotbeds of war, above all in the Middle East . . . ."

In an article published in the Feb. 4 New York Times, Hedrick Smith quoted the above section of Brezhnev's address and commented:

"Those expansive words of almost parental pride were spoken by neither Richard Nixon nor Henry Kissinger but Leonid Brezhnev. The Soviet leader — who had gambled so delicately last May by hosting Mr. Nixon over Hanoi's objections while Haiphong harbor was mined, and then had to endure the embarrassment (!) of the intensive American bombing of Hanoi in December — chose a banquet honoring visiting North Vietnamese dignitaries last Tuesday to relish what he saw as the moment of peace with victory."

Brezhnev himself noted that the Soviet Union had "helped actively on all fronts (to bring the agreement about), military, political, and diplomatic." And he further hinted that the Soviet Union intended to press for strict implementation of the terms of the agreement when the twelve-power "international conference" on Indochina convenes: "The peoples expect that other parties will honor and completely observe the commitments assumed. An important role in this to be played by the coming international conference, in which the Soviet Union will take an active part."

Spartak Beglov, a political commentator for the Novosti press agency, went somewhat further than Brezhnev in lauding the effect the Vietnam cease-fire would have on Soviet-American relations: "The greater has been a turn in America from the illusions of a policy of strength to a recognition of the political realities, the wider have opened goodwill sluices in search of more fruitful relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence."

And he further observed, "Of course the work of restoring peace in Vietnam is only begun. The implementation of a just peace will depend to a large extent on how unswervingly and consistently this agreement is put into practice by the parties." (Not by the United States or Saigon, but by the parties. Is this perhaps a warning to the liberation forces that the Kremlin will tolerate no "violation" of the accord, such as armed defense against Thieu's repressive terror?)

On the international arena, the next stage in "implementation of a just peace" will come at the convening of the international conference provided for in the Paris accords. The participants will include North Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Saigon clique, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, Great Britain, and the four countries that make up the International Commission of Control and Supervision — Poland, Hungary, Canada, and Indonesia. It has been reported that United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim will be asked to chair the meeting.

"The unstated purpose of the conference, and its real importance," Flora Lewis wrote on Jan. 30, "will be to de-Americanize the peace, involving the major powers and the United Nations in responsibility for considering what to do if the ceasefire breaks down."

A more exact term would be to "tripartize" the peace; that is, for the United States, China, and the Soviet Union to arrive at an agreement that will provide for Thieu's right to consolidate his rule through terror and the liberation forces' lack of right to resist with arms. Nixon and Kissinger have already made this clear in their appeals (and threats) to the workers' states to exercise "restraint."

There is unfortunately every indication that the Moscow and Peking Stalinists will go along with Washington. In his speech at the Le Duc Tho banquet, Brezhnev seemed to warn the North Vietnamese leaders that the Kremlin does not consider military aid to Hanoi on the agenda: "The Democratic Republic of Vietnam resumes the constructive work. It now has an opportunity to concentrate its efforts on socialist construction, and new prospects implementing the behests of President Ho Chi Minh — for creating a peaceful, united, democratic Vietnam — have opened.

"A road for peaceful democratic development, for upholding true independence and for conducting the policy of national concord and unification opens before South Vietnam."

The fact that a peaceful road of democratic development has opened in South Vietnam may be news to the people of the South — the refugees behind Thieu's barbed wire, the political oppositionists facing torture and death in Saigon's jails, the peasants and workers exploited under the guns of Thieu's army. All this is part of Brezhnev's and Chou's "victory." Their message to Hanoi — and to Washington — will surely not be misunderstood.

labor Challenge

VIETNAM BOUND. Canadian troops board airline for duty on supervisory commission in Vietnam.

Sharp's 'conditions' violate Viet rights

FEB. 27 — The international conference on Vietnam convened yesterday in Paris, against the backdrop of continuing civil war throughout Indochina.

The conference, which includes 12 foreign ministers and the secretary-general of the United Nations, has two main purposes. The first is to give an international stamp of approval to the ceasefire accord reached between the U.S. and North Vietnam in January. The second objective (and a more difficult one to achieve) is to establish a continuing international authority, to which the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) can report violations of the accord.

U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers pressed for international support to the accords: "If each party around this table makes a total and unrestrained commitment to playing a responsible role in carrying out this agreement, then peace will be guaranteed."

Moscow-Peking treachery in Vietnam accords
see page 8

But Nguyen Thi Binh, foreign minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG), broke with Rogers hypocritical tone, and delivered a scathing denunciation of U.S. and Saigon aggression which continues in Vietnam. She charged the Thieu regime with torturing, ill-treating and murdering "hundreds of thousands of patriots." The U.S., she said, was pursuing a "policy against peace and national concord."

Foreign minister Binh was describing the dreadful reality of the situation in South Vietnam today, where the Thieu dictatorship is carrying out an offensive against PRG territories, in an effort to consolidate control over the country. She was also speaking of the Feb. 23 resumption of U.S. B-52 bombing of Laos, just two days after a ceasefire was signed in that country. And in Cambodia, the civil war rages on, with little prospect of an early formal ceasefire agreement.

Canada is attending the conference as a member of the ICCS in Vietnam, along with Poland, Hungary and Indonesia, the other ICCS members, the three Vietnamese parties (North Vietnam, the PRG and the Saigon regime), the U.S., France, Britain, the Soviet Union and China.

Canadian External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp grabbed the limelight at the first day of the conference in proposing that the conference be constituted as a "continuing political authority" to receive reports from the ICCS. Sharp repeated his statement that unless such an authority is set up Canada will withdraw from the ICCS by April 30.

Sharp's demand for a continuing authority over the Vietnam "truce" has been one of his "conditions" for Canadian participation on the ICCS since last October. The Canadian "conditions" became one of the bases for Henry Kissinger's move to force more concessions on the North Vietnamese in the Paris negotiations. In this way, Canada was using its prestige and authority as a world power to back up the U.S. negotiating stance.

Canada is continuing this policy at the international conference. Sharp's demand would place one more obstacle in the way of Vietnamese self-determination — an international body to make judgments on the actions of Vietnamese people. Such a body, reflecting in itself the Moscow-Washington and Peking-Washington detente, would place international authority behind preservation of the status quo in Vietnam, opposing any motion by the Vietnamese masses to alter their conditions.

The North Vietnamese and PRG delegates to the Paris conference are reported to oppose Canada's proposal for a continuing political authority. China is reported to share their view. While the Soviet Union has not made its position known at the conference, last Dec. 18 the Soviet ambassador to Canada declared his support for the Canadian conditions at a Ottawa news conference.

As for those in Canada's parliament who might be expected to expose the government's maneuvers against the Vietnamese right to self-determination, the NDP caucus has maintained its support for the accords and Canadian intervention. Speaking in the House of Commons Feb. 1, NDP leader David Lewis asked the government to "take the initiative" at the conference by "insisting that as a condition of the international commission there must be an international authority to which the commission reports," which is just what Sharp is now demanding in Paris.

But those who would defend the rights of the Vietnamese have no business lining up behind moves to further limit those rights. The only principled position is to oppose Canadian intervention in any form and leave the Vietnamese to determine their future.

labor Challenge #75 Mar. 19 1973

Editorial

Say no to NORAD

Signed in 1958, and renewed for a 5-year period in 1968, the North American Air Defense Agreement (NORAD) expires on May 12. The Liberal government has announced that the agreement will be renewed, and with Tory support already assured it seems certain that Canada will be committed once again to this alliance.

Together with its membership in the nuclear-armed North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Canada's participation in NORAD knits together the aggressive military and foreign policies of Canadian and U.S. imperialism. The bloody consequences of that policy have been monstrously demonstrated by Canada's complicity in the Pentagon's genocidal war in Southeast Asia.

Founded in the name of "defense," both NORAD and NATO were constructed rather as aggressive Cold War alliances. Their weapons pointed at the workers states, imperialist forces were posed to intervene at any extension of revolution in Europe, or the colonial world. It is through the military alliances system that Canada has developed its specialization in counter-insurgency, put to reactionary purposes inQuebec in 1970, and on so many occasions in United Nations "peacekeeping" forces.

NORAD-sponsored grants to universities divert research facilities much better put to constructive purposes to increasing capitalism's capacity for destruction. Through defense production sharing agreements, conducted within NORAD, Canada and U.S. arms manufacturers divide their share of the taxpayers' dollars.

The cost to the Canadian working class of these alliances is astounding. With the recent Liberal budget, military spending is increased to well over $2 billion — expenditure that instead could create socially useful jobs for Canada's unemployed. Canada's commitment to NORAD amounts every year to some $40 million. Only last year the government purchased 60-odd Voodoo fighters, equipped with air-to-air nuclear missiles, for the three Canadian squadrons committed to NORAD. The Voodoos replace Canada's 56 nuclear-tipped Bomarc missiles, dismantled last year.

The Canadian Labor Congress, in its brief to the federal government, calls for Canada's withdrawal from NORAD. The NDP has long been bound by convention decisions to opposition to both NORAD and NATO.

When renewal of Canada's commitment to NORAD is raised in the House of Commons it is the responsibility of the NDP to fight it. And to campaign, inside and outside parliament, for Canadian withdrawal from all imperialist alliances — NORAD, NATO and the latest counter-revolutionary alliance, through Canada's participation in the International Commission for the Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

labor Challenge #75 Mar. 19 1973

PARIS CONFERENCE. Foreign ministers of 12 nations and United Nations secretary- general meet to ratify Vietnam accords.

How Canadian left views Viet accords

by GEORGE ADDISON

The antiwar movement in Canada for years centered its demands on the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination. But today, a number of left groups have abandoned the antiwar movement around their appreciation of the Vietnam accords, just at the time when the Canadian government is directly violating Vietnamese self-determination with its membership on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS).

The most prominent left backers of Canadian intervention are the parliamentary leaders of the NDP. They have done more than just support the entry — they have campaigned for it.

Speaking in the House of Commons debate Feb. 1, federal NDP leader David Lewis said: "The first thing that this agreement about Vietnam should accomplish is to give the people of Vietnam the opportunity to decide their own future." For Lewis, the RIGHT of the Vietnamese becomes an "opportunity." But then the NDP leader went on to deny the concept of self-determination altogether: "We think it is Canada's duty to take part in the observer force."

Lewis and the NDP caucus have been more enthusiastic about Canadian intervention in Vietnam than the Canadian government. Lewis urged External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp to beef up the power of the ICCS by presenting "conditions" for Canada's participation. Lewis's Feb. 1 speech urges Sharp to "take the initiative" at the Paris conference to press for an international authority to which the ICCS could report. Of course, that is exactly the course chosen by Sharp, who wants to present Canadian intervention in the most favorable light.

The rejection of the proposal at the Paris conference did not deter the NDP from linking up with Sharp's latest gambit — an all party visit to Vietnam to investigate the situation. Will this excursion lay the basis for an indefinite continuation of Canadian presence in Vietnam?

The NDP leadership's position on Canadian intervention is consistent with their support for every single foreign assignment of Canadian forces — from Korea to Cyprus. They see the Canadian state as a force for world peace. But the record of 18 years of complicity in Vietnam, and innumerable other examples elsewhere, show Canada as the imperialist, counterrevolutionary power that it really is.

COMMUNIST PARTY ENTHUSIASTIC

While the NDP leaders hedged their support to some extent, proposing that Canada withdraw if the accords are broken, the Communist Party of Canada will have none of this. It gets the prize for the greatest enthusiasm for the accords and the prospects for peace in Vietnam — a view shared by few, even among pro-imperialist commentators. Consistent with its uncritical support for the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, the Canadian CP presents no qualifications at all in its support for Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

Last Nov. 8, the Canadian Tribune, which reflects the views of the CP, stated in an editorial entitled "Canada has a duty to the Vietnamese," that Canada should accept the responsibility of membership on the ICCS. But, the Tribune editors added, such a role must not mean "a shield for new aggression. Canada did not carry out its duties on the last ICC (International Control Commission) with honor, to say the least . . . they acted as a foil for U.S. military intervention. This must not happen again."

Recent events in Vietnam indicate that it is indeed happening again, as the revolutionaries predicted. At a March 9 press conference in Saigon, Canada's chief delegate to the ICCS, Michel Gauvin accused (without naming them) Hungary and Poland for failing to investigate alleged violations of the ceasefire by North Vietnam, which Canada claims has built a missile site near Khe Sanh.

The Canadian government makes a big issue of this. But how much finger-pointing is there at the Saigon regime, which is guilty of dozens of violations — including bombing in the vicinity of an ICCS post.

Canada is already playing the same old role it played on the ICC — labelling the liberation forces as aggressors and accusing other members of the supervisory commission of "obstruction."

And what has the CP to say to this? The March 7 issue of Canadian Tribune leaves little doubt as to their line. The Tribune attacks Sharp for "the disruptive threat made by him in Paris to pull Canadians out" of the ICCS if an international authority was not established. Will the CP slogan now be "Keep Canada In?"

'HONOR THE ACCORDS'?

The CP position shows the terrible logic of describing the accords as a victory for the Vietnamese. The CP demand "Honor the Accords," ostensibly directed at Nixon, is in fact directed at the Vietnamese, who have been forced by the betrayal of Moscow and Peking to make the concessions formalized in the accords. Honoring the accords means honoring the concessions. This clearly runs counter to the traditional demand of the antiwar movement, which called for "Out Now."

"Out Now" meant, and continues to mean, immediate, unconditional

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withdrawal of all U.S. land, sea and air forces, military and economic aid from its puppet regimes in Southeast Asia. It means the removal of every vestige of U.S. presence.

It also means no foreign interference in the affairs of the Indochinese — that is, no Canadian aid to U.S. aggression and no Canadian intervention.

The CP position means acceptance of the right of U.S. imperialism to remain in Southeast Asia in various forms. The agreements have nothing to say about U.S. civilian advisers in Vietnam. They do not speak of U.S. forces in Thailand and in the South China Sea. Continuing U.S. military and economic aid to the repressive regimes in South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand are not prevented by the accords.

CANADIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The CP is not alone among the pretenders to revolutionary socialism in Canada in its support for the Vietnam accords and opposition to "Out Now." The pro-Maoist Canadian Liberation Movement, although it opposes Canadian intervention, paints the accords as a big victory for the Vietnamese. But their opposition to Canadian intervention is not based on defense of Vietnamese self-determination. They oppose it on the grounds that Canada is "run by traitor capitalists who see their chance for power and profits in managing Canada as a neo-colony for the U.S. imperialists." Thus, CLM sees the problem not in the nature of Canadian capitalism as a counterrevolutionary force, but that it is not responsible for itself. The CLM's paper, New Canada demands that the "quisling" government "get out and stay out of Vietnam," but then adds a qualification — "until it proves by its actions that it stands with the peoples of the world and against U.S. imperialism." We are left with the impression that Canadian intervention would not violate Vietnamese self-determination if Ottawa met the modest CLM demands — to recognize North Vietnam (which Canada has now done) and the PRG, end the Canada-U.S. defense production sharing agreements, get out of NATO and NORAD and stop military exports to the U.S. for Vietnam.

Even one tendency that considers itself "Trotskyist" has welcomed the accords, posing support to the agreement rather than "Out Now." The Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire (GMR — Revolutionary Marxist Group), which split last summer from the League for Socialist Action — Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSA-LSO), demanded in a leaflet distributed at the Jan. 20 antiwar demonstration in Montreal that Nixon sign the accords immediately. For the U.S. to sign, the GMR states, would be "a gigantic step forward."

Since the GMR supports the accords, then they must also support the provision for the ICCS. But they don't support Canada's membership on it. The GMR leaflet says: "In such an explosion of struggles, what will be the role of the Canadian army which is so benevolently proposed as a 'peacekeeping force?' Can we expect that a bourgeois army will remain neutral in the final confrontation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie? It will do everything it can to prevent the development of the struggles."

The GMR is correct about the character of Canada's army. But nothing is said about the ICCS as a whole, which also includes non-capitalist forces, Hungary and Poland. Is the intervention of these troops — reflecting the counterrevolutionary politics of the Kremlin — now supported by the GMR?

The only Canada-wide forces that consistently stand for Vietnamese self-determination and against Canadian intervention are the Trotskyists of the LSA-LSO and its sympathizing youth organization, the Young Socialists — Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS-LJS). From the inception of the antiwar movement in the mid-'60s, the LSA-LSO and the YS-LJS have put forward their strategy for defense of the Vietnamese revolution through a mass action-oriented movement, around the demands "Out Now" and "End Canada's Complicity." That approach is continued today in their activities against the war and Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

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labor Challenge #75 Mar. 19 1973

I. F. Stone warns of 'Third Indochina War'

The March 8 issue of the New York Review of Books carries an analysis of the situation in Vietnam and of the ceasefire agreement by I.F. Stone, a prominent liberal journalist and longtime opponent of the war in Southeast Asia. Stone's article is entitled "Toward a Third Indochina War."

Stone argues that "Nixon and the military had to 'get out' (of Vietnam) in order to stay in." Only by withdrawing U.S. ground forces could Nixon assure "popular acquiesence in maintaing offshore and on nearby bases a huge air and sea armada ready for renewed intervention."

"A second key to coming events lies in the lop-sided character of the ceasefire agreement," he explains. "It effectively obligates Thieu to nothing at all," while " . . . Hanoi is obligated to maintain the ceasefire agreement with the U.S. no matter how much Thieu stalls on negotiations. And Thieu must frustrate these if he is to retain power. The setup now gives Thieu a blank check for resumed American bombing if the other side balks."

"Obviously," Stone states, "the scenario is for Thieu to wipe out his domestic opposition while we (the U.S.) keep the military balance in his favor."

Pointing to the role of the Soviet Union in subverting the gains of the Vietnam revolution, Stone writes: "In 1954 (the date of the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam), as now — so close is the parallel — the Soviet Union was ready to curb Vietnamese military action in return for a European security conference."

For Peking, Stone says, U.S. promises to reduce its forces on Taiwan made the Chinese leadership very cooperative with U.S. efforts in Indochina.

"Hanoi, Peking, and Moscow," Stone continues, "kept their part of the bargain for many years after Geneva. The failure to hold the 1956 elections passed without real protest. The reprisals against political opponents . . . were openly carried out by Diem without reaction from the communist capitals. It was Diem . . . who stirred up the revolt, and **that revolt came not because of but against the communist party line.**" (Emphasis in original)

The struggle in the South developed on its own, without support from any of the workers' states, says Stone. And as Thieu carries out his campaign of repression that struggle in the South will begin again.

"The signs point toward a third Indochina war," Stone concludes. " . . . We are back in 1954, and the tragedy begins its replay."

labor Challenge #25 Mar. 19 1973

Sharp is maneuvering to prolong ICCS role

by GEORGE ADDISON

Two recent developments concerning Indochina show the continued instability of the ceasefire agreements and point to the role of the Canadian government in the situation.

On Feb. 21, a ceasefire settlement was signed between the Laotian regime of Souvanna Phouma and the insurgent Pathet Lao forces. On Feb. 24, less than 24 hours after the ceasefire formally went into effect, U.S. B-52 bombers hit Pathet Lao positions in southern Laos. The New York Times quoted "administration sources" as justifying the illegal bombing in order to "add force to private warnings that any major violations in South Vietnam by North Vietnamese troops might bring about a resumption of air operations against the Hanoi government."

It is of some significance that U.S. spokesmen should concede that military actions in Laos will be a means of warning Hanoi not to defend itself against the Thieu regime's offensive in South Vietnam. The agreement in Laos differs in certain ways from the Vietnam accord — and almost exclusively in ways that are favorable to the liberation forces. So the evolution of the Laotian situation will indicate just what U.S. imperialism is willing to tolerate in Indochina, and exactly how much the North Vietnamese leaders are willing to challenge the U.S.-imposed limits.

The Laos agreement declares a ceasefire, the withdrawal of foreign troops and the neutralization of the cities of Vientiane and Luang Prabang (the royal capital). Pending the holding of elections, present zones of control will be maintained, and a coalition government with equal representation from the liberation forces and the Vientiane administration, with the addition of "two intellectuals who advocate peace, independence, neutrality and democracy," will be established. The currently nonfunctioning International Control Commission (ICC — composed of delegates from Canada, India and Poland) will "continue to perform its duty."

U.S. imperialism clearly failed to achieve its goal of establishing an entrenched pro-American regime in Vientiane. Despite the expenditure of more than $1,000 million and a level of bombing which, proportional to population, was as intense as on North and South Vietnam, the U.S. was unable to crush the liberation forces.

But the terms of the agreement show that the liberation forces stopped short of what could have been achieved. The Vientiane government will be replaced by a coalition (if the agreement is implemented), but capitalism remains intact. This is even specifically stated in the agreement, which calls for the recognition of the right of "establishing business enterprise and ownership."

The aim of the U.S. appears to be to set Laos up as a buffer zone between its concentrated force in Thailand, and North Vietnam, and to make certain concessions on the composition of the regime, while maintaining social relations that would not advance the revolutionary tide in Southeast Asia. It remains to be seen whether the liberation forces will accommodate themselves to this aim, although so far they have offered no resistance.

And the B-52s are posed for further attacks if the situation turns to the disadvantage of the U.S.

It further remains to be seen just what role the ICC will play in Laos. Canada has agreed to participate, but like Vietnam Mitchell Sharp has presented "conditions" designed to increase the power of the force. There is no doubt that Canada will carry out the same policy it has followed since 1954 on the ICC in Vietnam, and since 1962 in Laos. That is, using every opportunity to cover up, apologize for, spy for, and represent the interests of U.S. and world imperialism.

The second development was the Paris conference which ended March 2, after giving its approval to the Vietnam ceasefire accords. The nine-article "act" approved by the 12 foreign ministers states that the signatories "acknowledge, express their approval of and support the Paris agreement" signed by the U.S. North Vietnam, the Saigon regime, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) last Jan. 27.

It provides for no special permanent body to oversee the implementation of the ceasefire, as Canada's delegate, External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp had demanded.

One American official said the purpose of the conference was "to sprinkle holy water on an existing agreement," according to Robert Keatley, writing in the Feb. 26 Wall Street Journal.

But, as Keatley explained, the "real business" of the conference "will be the behind-the-scenes collaboration among the U.S., China, and the Soviet Union about enforcing the ceasefire terms throughout Indochina. The results probably won't be announced officially, but they may be publicized discreetly as warnings to any factions that seek to resume war. Most likely is some understanding among the Big Three about limiting weapons deliveries to Hanoi and Saigon, so neither can launch new offensives."

Keatley also suggested that the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucrats might seek collaboration in another area — applying "superpower pressure on both Vietnams to demobilize their huge armies. This could get some or all of those 145,000 Northern troops out of South Vietnam, while reducing South Vietnam's military establishment . . ." Such a stabilization of the situation in South Vietnam would be of immense

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benefit to the Thieu regime, which holds state power and is carrying out widespread repressive actions throughout the South.

Mitchell Sharp's reaction to the Paris conference was an expressed disappointment that his proposal to further thwart Vietnamese self-determination had been turned down. His next move was to organize a parliamentary trip to "investigate" the situation and decide whether Canada should extend its participation on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) when the original 60-day trial period expire at the end of March. An NDP caucu representative and a Socred wi accompany Sharp. But the Tor refused to go — describing the tri as providing "window dressing" t buttress an already-made decisio

The reason for the trip is t provide all-party backing for a continued ICCS role, and to pu pressure on the other members o the ICCS to accede to Canadia demands that the commissio condemn the liberation forces.

A press conference held b

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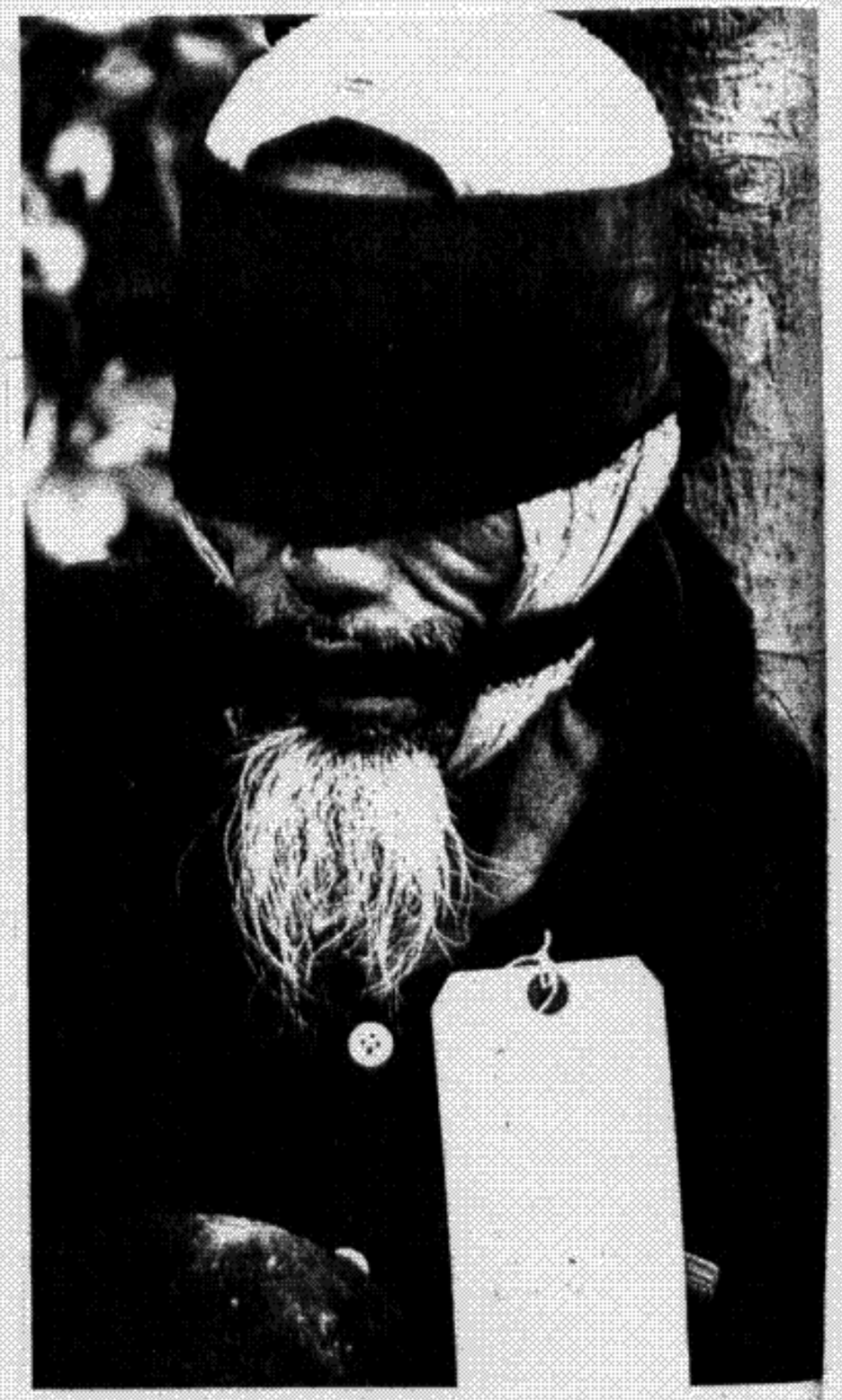


VIETNAMESE PRISONER. Tag reads: "Interrogate. Believe know more than he knows."

...Sharp in Vietnam

continued from page 12

Canada's chief ICCS delegate Michel Gauvin on March 9 showed Canada's real role — as representative of U.S. interests. Gauvin berated Hungary and Poland (without naming them) for refusing to probe an alleged North Vietnamese missile installation near Khe Sahn. The ploy apparently worked — on March 11 U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers congratulated Canda for forcing the removal of the installation.

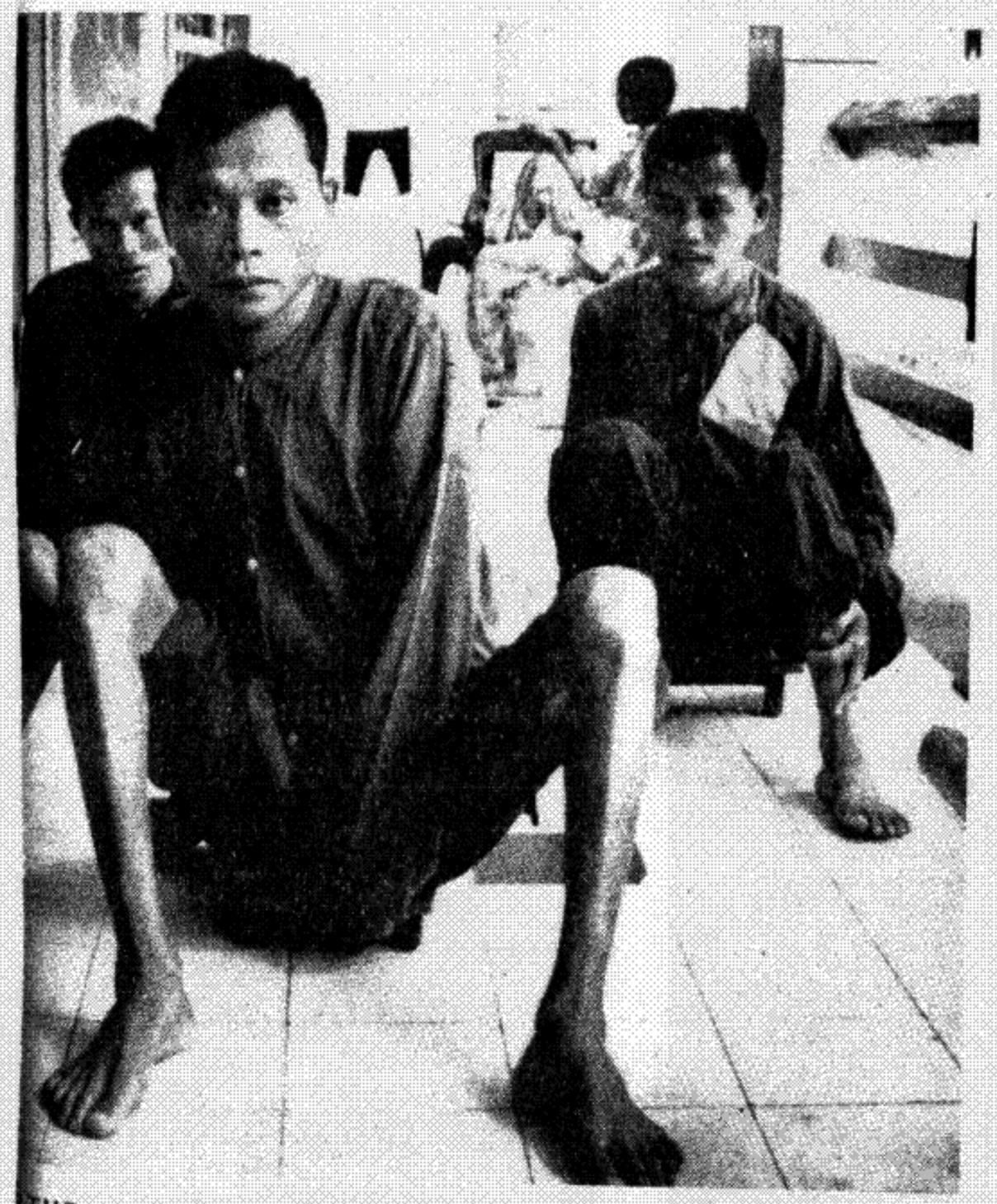
Writing in the March 14 Toronto Star, columnist Mark Gayn described Gauvin's actions as "trying to stir up world opinion to compel the two countries (Hungary and Poland) to do their job . . . One must assume that Sharp's breathless tour of Indochina is intended to add to this pressure."

Once again, we see Canada playing the role it always played on the ICC in Vietnam — condemning the liberation forces for "violations" of the agreements (that is, for defending themselves), looking the other way when the Thieu regime violates the accords (as it has done dozens of times, according to the daily press), and then criticizing the other members of the ICCS for not doing likewise.

Challenge

#76
April 2 1973

Ottawa extends 'peacekeeping' farce while Saigon escalates repression



TURED IN THIEU'S JAILS. These political prisoners, imprisoned Plorious Con Son "tiger cages," are crippled, some blind, after years Morture.

by THE EDITORS

MARCH 27 — Without even a parliamentary debate and vote, the Liberal government has committed Canada to another term of complicity in the long and bloody Southeast Asian war. External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp announced in Ottawa today that Canadian forces will remain in Vietnam for at least 90 more days, as a member of the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS).

Sharp cited requests from the U.S., Britain, Japan and "some NATO partners," as making "convincing arguments" that Canada should remain "to provide an international presence as an indication of the continued involvement of the world community in the Vietnam situation." In plainer terms, Canada will remain in Vietnam in order to help shore up the repressive Thieu regime and to turn world public opinion against the liberation forces. Canada will continue to violate the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their own future.

U.S. TROOPS LEAVE

In Vietnam, a total of 5,324 U.S. combat troops are boarding aircraft today and tomorrow to leave Vietnam, leaving behind some 825 soldiers serving on the Joint Military Commission, 159 to guard embassy buildings in Saigon, and an unstated number of intelligence agents and civilian "advisers" to the Thieu regime.

The threat of renewed direct U.S. aggression in South Vietnam has not been removed with the departure of the troops. Some 45,000 U.S. soldiers and airmen, along with 500 fighter bombers and B-52s are stationed in Thailand. The fleet remains off the coast of Vietnam. U.S. bombers are continuing to pound territories controlled by the liberation forces in Cambodia.

BUT THREAT REMAINS

Nixon made the threat more explicit at a March 15 news conference. Citing U.S. intelligence reports of alleged movements of North Vietnamese troops and weapons toward South Vietnam, Nixon offered this cynical commentary: "We have informed the North Vietnamese of our concern about this infiltration . . . Our concern has also been expressed to other interested parties, and I would only suggest that, based on my actions over the last four years, the North Vietnamese should not lightly disregard such expressions of concern when they are made."

Nixon's actions over the past four years have included the invasion of Cambodia, the invasion of Laos, the carpet bombing of North Vietnam, including attacks on the vital dike and irrigation systems, the mining of the North Vietnamese harbors, crop poisoning and defoliation, the "craterization" of wide areas of South Vietnam, and countless other crimes against the Indochinese. At least in respect to war threats, Nixon is a man of his word.

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Editorial

. . . Canada must get out now

The hue and cry over "infiltration" from the north is designed to drown out the news of the continued offensive carried out by the Thieu regime. Lt. Gen. Tran Van Tra, the Provisional Revolutionary Government's (PRG) chief delegate to the Joint Military Commission charged March 17 that the Saigon forces had committed no less than 46,188 violations of the accords, in the 50 days since the "ceasefire."

The Thieu regime, as well as carrying out an offensive against PRG territories, is carrying out severe repression against dissidents in its own areas. An estimated 200,000 opponents of the regime remain in Thieu's prisons, facing torture and possible murder. Hundreds of thousands of refugees from U.S. bombing are being kept in detention camps forcibly prevented from returning to their ancestral homes in PRG-controlled territory.

CANADA'S COMPLICITY

This is the situation the ICCS is "observing" — continued civil war and the ever-present threat of renewed U.S. aggression. And Canada's role can come as no surprise to participants in the antiwar movement, which for years has exposed and opposed Canada's complicity in the war. Mitchell Sharp was quick to back up Nixon's claims of North Vietnamese "infiltration" into the South. Speaking in the House of Commons March 20, Sharp said information that he gathered on his trip to Vietnam and Laos "tends to confirm" the allegations of "infiltration."

This latest act of finger pointing at the North Vietnamese and PRG, while ignoring Thieu's offensive, follows a series of similar actions by the Canadian ICCS members, including a thinly-veiled attack on Hungary and Poland, the two workers states represented on the ICCS, for their refusal to investigate an alleged North Vietnamese missile site near Khe Sahn.

Canada's actions in Vietnam are backed by all the parties in parliament. The New Democratic Party, which now calls for Canada to withdraw by June 30, bases its position not on the crucial question of self-determination for the Vietnamese, but rather on a condemnation of both sides in the conflict for failing to respect the accords. Doug Rowland, the NDP MP who accompanied Sharp on his trip to Vietnam and Laos this month, said he saw no indication "among the belligerants to live up to the Paris agreement." Rowland's statement in effect puts the acticns of the liberation forces in defending themselves on the same basis as Thieu's assault.

Rowland even went so far as to ridicule charges of the extent of the Saigon repression. He called PRG and North Vietnamese estimates of hundreds of thousands of political prisoners in Thieu's jails "grossly exaggerated" and "ridiculous."

SELF-DETERMINATION

The "continued involvement of the world community," in Vietnam, as Sharp puts it, is in fact a clear denial of the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. The ICCS is designed to strengthen and stabilize the status quo in Vietnam, bringing pressure to bear first and foremost on the liberation forces, who will have to violate the accords in order to defend themselves from Thieu and contest for power in the South. The presence of the ICCS hinders the forward thrust of the Vietnamese and Indochinese revolutions, which threaten to overthrow capitalism throughout in Southeast Asia.

Even journalists from the capitalist press have commented on the differences in life based on changed property relations, between liberation forces-held areas and areas controlled by Saigon.

There are similar observations of North Vietnam. Claude Lemelin an editor of the Montreal daily Le Devoir, who accompanied Sharp on his trip, remarked on the differences between Hanoi and Saigon: "What struck me most, after Saigon, was that in the capital of this so-called totalitarian state, which the United States has tried its utmost to prevent from contaminating the "free world" bastion of South Vietnam, the population seems more serene, more relaxed — more happy, as the Canadian parliamentarians said — than the constituents of President Thieu . . . One cannot helα being moved, at noticing among the people a total absence of animosity towards us westerners. Everywhere, smiling faces, everywhere a gesture of the hand provokes a cordial greeting . . ."

Canada is staying on in Vietnam in the interests of world counterrevolution — not peace. There can be no peace as long as imperialist presence remains.

Canada must get out, and get out now.

labor Challenge

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Nixon threatens renewed bombing

First Canadian killed in Indochina war

by GEORGE ADDISON

With the shooting down of a helicopter containing an International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) team April 7, the Vietnam war claimed its first Canadian military fatality, Capt. C.E. Laviolette of Quebec City. Eight other passengers were killed in the crash.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG), whose forces shot down the helicopter, claimed that it had strayed at least 15 miles off course, into an area where the Saigon regime had been carrying out commando raids and reconnaissance flights. A PRG statement said that it "deeply regrets this unexpected accident."

But the PRG explanation was not enough for Canada's External Affairs minister Sharp. He used the occasion to denounce the PRG, claiming that survivors of the crash had been forced to sign statements that the helicopters were off course. Sharp called the PRG action "outrageous."

There is no reason to suspect that the attack was deliberate. Among the victims of the crash were two PRG liaison officers. Certainly the liberation forces would have no reason to kill their own representatives. Furthermore, as James Anderson pointed out in the April 9 Globe and Mail, the helicopters were operated under a charter by Air America, "a private company which works mostly for the U.S. government and is well-known to have been closely linked with the Central Intelligence Agency."

It is not surprising that the ICCS helicopters would be mistaken for U.S. or Saigon craft, for Thieu's offensive against PRG-held territory is forging ahead. And the U.S. is far from being out of Indochina.

Even statistics put out by the Thieu regime indicate the level of fighting and which side is violating the ceasefire. According to Saigon, in the sixty days after the ceasefire agreement, 15,149 members of the liberation forces were killed. Thieu's army put its dead at about one-fifth that number — 3,126.

At a March 31 press conference, Colonel Vo Dong Giang, a PRG spokesman, charged Nixon and Thieu with "sabotaging" the ceasefire.

According to Sylvan Fox, writing in the April 1 New York Times, Colonel Giang accused the Thieu regime of 19,700 "serious" violations of the agreement. "He said that if Saigon continued its 'land grabbing,' theVietcong would strike back. 'We have restrained ourselves,' he said, 'but there is a limit to our restraint.' "

Giang also charged that Nixon had kept 17,000 military personnel disguised as civilians in South Vietnam. (It has already been widely reported in the U.S. press that the Pentagon plans to employ 20,000 or more "civilian advisers" — many of them abruptly discharged from the military in order to become civilians — in South Vietnam.)

To make himself perfectly clear, Nixon repeated his warning of a re-escalation of the bombing of North-Vietnam at a March 29 televised speech. "We shall insist," the U.S. president said, "that North Vietnam comply with the agreement and the leaders of North Vietnam should have no doubt as to the consequences if they fail to comply with the agreement."

The implication is unmistakable. If the North Vietnamese and PRG forces defend themselves from Thieu's assault, and seek to alter the relationship of forces in South Vietnam, the B-52s will fly again.

That Nixon is ready and willing to defend his puppets is shown by the U.S. bombing of Cambodia. According to the March 28 New York Times, "the concensus of Cambodian and foreign military experts is that without heavy daily bombing, rocketing and strafing of insurgent forces by United States aircraft, the Cambodian Army could collapse." With liberation forces holding most of the countryside and now ringing the capital. Phnom Penh, the Lon Nol regime is holding onto power only through the direct intervention of the U.S.

In order to justify a possible re-escalation of the war by the U.S., a vast media campaign has been created to turn world public opinion — which previously was mobilized in defense of the Vietnamese — against the liberation fighters. The reports by U.S. prisoners-of-war on alleged torture in North Vietnam (while ignoring statements of antiwar

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CANADA'S FIRST FATALITY. Body of Capt. Charles Laviolette carried from aircraft in Saigon.

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POWs), the daily reports of North Vietnamese "infiltration" into the southern part of their own country, Saigon dictator Thieu's recent visit to the U.S., are all designed to draw attention away from the aggression and repression now being carried out by Thieu, and give the U.S. the excuse to resume bombing or intervene to save its puppets.

Canada's role on the ICCS is designed to back up this campaign. The Canadian forces have consistently played up violations of the ceasefire accord by the liberation fighters (who are forced to defend themselves against Thieu's terror) while ignoring what Thieu is doing. Little wonder that the Saigon dictator should call the prospect of Canadian withdrawal from the ICCS "disastrous!"

But some opposition is being shown to Canada's role in Vietnam. While Sharp attacked the PRG for the helicopter incident, the NDP pressed for the withdrawal of Canadian forces. NDP leader David Lewis told the House of Commons April 9 that if there is no hope "of changing the attitudes of some of the parties who now seem determined to continue the war," the Canadian force should be pulled out immediately.

While antiwar activists must welcome Lewis's qualified call for immediate withdrawal, it should be noted that his suggestion that the liberation forces bear responsibility for the continuation of the war plays right into Sharp and Nixon's hands.

Sharp cynically expressed a "deep sense of grief" for the death of Capt. Laviolette, who he was responsible for sending to Vietnam in the first place. Further grief can be avoided by recognizing the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination and getting Canada out now.

labor Challenge #77 Apr. 16 1973

Viet student tells of Saigon terror

The following article is reprinted from the April, 1973 issue of the American newspaper Young Socialist.

by DAVE JEROME

BOSTON — On Mar. 12, I had the opportunity to interview Ngo Vinh Long, a Vietnamese student at Harvard University who is the international representative of the National Student Union of South Vietnam.

Long is currently director of the Vietnamese Resource Center in Cambridge. The VRC is a clearing house for information and educational material on the Vietnamese liberation struggle. Long is also the author of a book on the Vietnamese peasantry, Before the August Revolution, which will be published by MIT Press.

Much of our discussion centered on General Thieu's terror campaign against the political opposition to his regime in South Vietnam. Long explained that at this time there are about 300,000 political prisoners in Thieu's jails.

"About 100,000 of these," Long pointed out, "were arrested since the spring offensive last April. By Thieu's nephew's own admission, 5,000 of these have been executed since October."

Who are the political prisoners? According to Long they are people who have been imprisoned for advocating "peace" or "neutrality." Not only has Thieu imprisoned outright supporters of the National Liberation Front, but anyone who voiced opposition to his dictatorial rule.

Political arrests are carried out in the cities much more than in the countryside. This, according to Long, is basically due to the fact that while support for the liberation movement is very strong in the cities, Thieu's repressive forces are much stronger in most cities than in the countryside.

"According to the Vietnamese News Agency, which is the official Saigon news service," Long explained, "the police have carried out 7,000 urban raids a week since the signing of the Vietnam accords on Jan. 27.

"The idea is that if the arrested people were left on their own they would organize effectively against Thieu. They would organize demonstrations in support of the political prisoners in jail and in support of the eight million refugees who are not allowed to return to their villages in the countryside. They would organize demonstrations demanding that Thieu not suppress the press. Any of these protests, if carried out by the urban opposition, would further undermine the Thieu regime."

The police force, explained Long, has been greatly increased in order to carry out these raids. "In the last three months the police force has increased from 120,000 to 300,000 men."

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Thieu had brazenly violated democratic rights such as freedom of speech and assembly, which are supposed to be guaranteed by the accords. He is also ignoring the provisions of the agreement regarding the release of political prisoners.

"In order to detain political prisoners, Thieu has changed the files on many political prisoners and now classifies them as criminal prisoners. If you are considered a criminal prisoner instead of a political prisoner you do not have to be released according to the Vietnam accords.

"Famous people, like Truong Dzu, who was runner-up in the presidential elections and afterwards put in prison for political reasons, is now classified as a criminal prisoner."

The complete suppression of the press has also been massive since the signing of the accords. All, Thieu has closed down 26 newspapers in South Vietnam deported approximately 60 of the foreign reporters.

Again, the repression is well beyond members or supporters of the NLF. According to Long, Doi Dien, editor of a Catholic newspaper, was fined $75,000 and sentenced to 10 years hard labor when his paper published an article in support of the political prisoners.

"If Fox Butterfield of the New York Times can be thrown in jail twice, and the editor of a Catholic newspaper can be fined and jailed, you can imagine what is happening to the NLF supporters."

The student movement in South Vietnam has also been severely attacked by Thieu. All the universities have been closed for the last six months in order to stop the students from organizing.

Long explained that, "The goal of the student movement has been to show the whole world, especially the U.S. peace movement, that the urban opposition was 100 percent for NLF policy. In fact, in some ways they are more radical than the NLF. For example, the students have consistently demanded since 1968 that there be an immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

"This is mainly done to show the U.S. that there is no hope for fooling around with a 'third force,' or neutralists in South Vietnam. In South Vietnam neutralists are defined as anyone who is against any form of outside intervention in Vietnam, which makes them anti-U.S. and anti-Thieu.

"Students at this time are waiting for the Americans to leave. Then they will give Thieu three more months at most to solve the problems of the political prisoners in accordance with the agreement. If Thieu refuses to release all the political prisoners, then the students, the workers, the Catholics, the Buddhists, and other groups are going to organize demonstrations against Thieu.

"In that situation, Thieu can either release all the political prisoners and abide by the stipulations of the Vietnam accords, or carry out more repression. Given the weakness of the Thieu regime, I would think that he would carry out more repression which I think will rile more opposition against him."

labor Challenge #78

Editorial

U.S. escalates war, Canada covers up

Not only is the United States still heavily engaged in the Indochina war, but its aggression is being carefully and deliberately escalated.

U.S. bombing of Cambodia is heavier than it ever was in North Vietnam, with the sole exception of last December's devastating carpet bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. By the beginning of April, the U.S. was sending a daily average of 58 B-52s on bombing missions in Cambodia, together with about 180 fighter bombers and gunboats on bombing and strafing missions.

Directed against the insurgent liberation forces, the bombing is a desperate attempt to maintain the brutal Lon Nol regime in power. According to estimates in the American press, liberation forces hold more than 80 percent of the territory, and now ring the capital, Phnompenh. Lon Nol's corrupt regime shows signs of coming apart at the seams. Toronto Star correspondent Mark Gayn called the atmosphere in Pnompenh "like Shanghai on the eve of Chiang Kai-shek's defeat."

On April 16 and 17, U.S. planes bombed villages and other populated areas in Laos, in the second resumption of the bombing since the ceasefire agreement was signed between the Pathet Lao liberation forces and the Vientiane regime last Feb. 21.

On April 17 U.S. naval forces abruptly halted the clearing of mines from Haiphong harbor. The North Vietnamess report that of the tens of thousands of mines it was responsible for neutralizing, the U.S. exploded only three.

And in a further aggressive act, Pentagon officials announced April 20 that U.S. planes had resumed reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam — again in direct violation of the ceasefire agreement.

Spokesmen for the Nixon administration have been frankly cynical in their explanations for these actions. The U.S. Secretary of Defense called the moves signals of "retaliatory action" against North Vietnam, unless it stopped resisting the Thieu regime's aggression in South Vietnam, and used its influence with the insurgent forces in Laos and Cambodia to bring about a settlement on U.S. terms.

This threat is aimed not only at Hanoi, but also is directed at Moscow and Peking. Over and over again in the history of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Washington has tested the response of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats before launching a major escalation. And time after time, the Stalinist bureaucrats have, through their lack of response, allowed the U.S. to proceed. With this latest series of escalations, Nixon has doubtless been encouraged to move further by the lack of any serious counter-measures by either Moscow or Peking.

But at the same time, Nixon is attempting to divert public attention away from his crimes by placing the blame on the liberation forces. The propaganda campaign around the released U.S. prisoners-of-war, as well as the claims of North Vietnamese "infiltration" of troops and material into the South are part of this campaign. Nixon's strategy is being aided by the scandalous actions of the Canadian representatives on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) in Vietnam.

Canada's role has been to focus attention on alleged violations of the Paris agreement by North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG), while virtually ignoring the campaign of repression and terror of the Thieu regime.

Canada's criminal role has been demonstrated in the investigation of the April 7 crash of an ICCS helicopter, in which nine persons, including a Canadian officer, were killed. Canadian ambassador Michel Gauvin, head of the Canadian ICCS team, and External Affairs minister Mitchel Sharp hypocritically blamed the PRG for the incident.

More recently, the Trudeau government issued a statement May 2, calling the firing of ground weapons at an ICCS helicopter the same day "a most serious and deplorable incident," and blaming the PRG.

With its actions and public statements, the Canadian government is following the same policy it has carried for the past 19 years — first on the International Control Commission and now on the ICCS. Canada continues to back U.S. aggression by attempting to discredit the liberation forces.

The Canadian government is not without backers in the Canadian left. Betraying its total support for Moscow's craven capitulation to Washington's designs, the Communist Party of Canada poses the problem as being the personality of Michel Gauvin. The CP calls on Trudeau and Sharp to fire him, but maintain its membership on the ICCS.

NDP foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin has urged the government not to use the latest helicopter incident as a reason to get off the ICCS, implying that Canada's continued role can play some progressive purpose.

Both the CP and NDP positions violate the key principle at stake in Vietnam — the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese people, violated daily by the presence of the ICCS.

The only realistic and principled position is to demand that the Canadian forces be withdrawn, that the ICCS be dissolved and removed, and that all U.S. troops, aircraft, ships and war material be pulled out of Southeast Asia now.

labor Challenge #78 May 7 1973

Letters

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief — where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Wants ICCS to stay

Vancouver, B.C.

You continue to stress the Vietnam question. I have a theory which would solve everything.

1. Leave the peacekeeping forces in Southeast Asia until such time as a democratic election is called in South Vietnam.

2. Each side should have a candidate, one from the Thieu regime, one from the Viet Cong, and if necessary, one from the Communists and Buddhist factions.

3. The peacekeeping forces would make sure that the election is truly democratic, by making peace amongst the natives, that is, keeping Thieu on his side of the line and the Viet Cong on their side of the line (making sure that Thieu and his counterpart do not shoot each other apart).

This is all that Vietnma would need, a truly democratic election and with the peacekeeping force there to administer it, it would be truly a victory for Thieu or the Viet Cong.

Ron Soustad, Communications Director, B.C. Young New Democrats

ed. note — Labor Challenge has expressed itself clearly on the question of the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS), which includes Canadian troops, in Vietnam. We consider this force to be a foreign intervention into the affairs of the Vietnamese people, a direct violation of their right to self-determination. The Canadian forces have shown through their conduct that they represent the interests of U.S. and world imperialism. We have consistently called for the immediate withdrawal of Canadian forces and the ICCS from Vietnam.

The Thieu dictatorship is but the latest of a series of regimes imposed on the Vietnamese by the might of U.S. imperialism. Any election (with or without foreign supervision to justify it) would either be rigged — as all previous elections in South Vietnam have been — or be cancelled altogether, as the 1956 elections were cancelled when it became apparent to the U.S. that the liberation forces would win.

labor Challenge #79 May 28 1973

New developments in war

by CAROLINE LUND

MAY 15 — Revelations coming out in the news media prove that secret U.S. military operations are continuing throughout Indochina. The pattern of lies, deception, and corruption currently being utilized by Nixon in Southeast Asia is the same as what has come to light in the Pentagon papers and in the developing Watergate scandal.

On May 12 and 13 the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government charged the U.S. with bombing RG-controlled territory in South Vietnam. Pentagon spokesman Jerry Friedheim flatly denied any such raids, just as he at first denied that U.S. B-52s had bombed Hanoi's Bach Mai hospital during Nixon's bombing raids on North Vietnam last December.

Meanwhile the Senate Foreign Relations Committee released the information that the U.S. is financing some 20,000 Thai mercenaries fighting in Laos. The State Department acknowledged that the cost to U.S. taxpayers of this secret army is more than $100-million a year. The Nixon administration had previously lied about this force, claiming they were "volunteers."

Another recent disclosure is that the U.S. embassy in Phnom Penh is functioning as a secret command post for U.S. bombing raids in Cambodia. Nixon has repeatedly lied in claiming that the bombing is executed totally from bases in Thailand and the Pacific. The revelation about the use of the embassy, which came out in a Senate staff report, indicates that Nixon is violating legislation prohibiting the use of U.S. advisers within Cambodia.

Another report cited in the May 8 New York Post says that U.S. civilians are being recruited as mercenaries by the Cambodian embassy in Saigon. The Post dispatch from Saigon says, "An almost interrupted procession of American civilians came to the Cambodian Embassy here yesterday ready to sign up as mercenaries for the Phnom Penh government, despite an embassy denial that U.S. helicopter pilots were being recruited."

This report originated with an

WAR SPREADS. Cambodian refugees fleeing from U.S. bombs pass Phnom Penh troops.

ABC television correspondent, who, according to the Post, "said (helicopter) crewmen were recruited at a meeting held in Saigon and were offered $2,500 a month to serve in Cambodia."

On May 5 the U.S. embassy in Phnom Penh announced that it would hold no more news briefings for reporters on developments with the war in Cambodia. This makes it even more difficult for the American people to find out about the role of the U.S. in this war.

According to Malcolm Browne, writing in the April 23 New York Times, the Lon Nol government "exercises formal censorship of all dispatches and overseas telephone conversations of foreign correspondents." He reports that this censorship has been "at least tacitly encouraged" by U.S. officials in Cambodia.

Another indication of secret expansion of U.S. military operations in Asia appeared in an article entitled "The Moveable War" by Tad Szulc in the May 12 New Republic.

Szulc writes that "The United States is currently stepping up its direct involvement in the internal security problems of the Philippines and Thailand, where local insurgencies are again assuming serious proportions, in a manner disturbingly reminiscent of the early days of our engagement in South Vietnam. Still quite limited in scope, new programs to support Filipino and Thai counterinsurgency efforts were quietly launched last month, largely through the Agency for International Development (AID), which in the past had been used as a cover by the Central Intelligence Agency for paramilitary operations in South Vietnam and Laos."

The Nixon administration has also lied about U.S. operations in Thailand. According to an expose by Bill Saunders writing from Thailand in the April 24 Los Angeles Times, "Any number you come up with in regard to our armed forces level in Thailand must be an estimate because of the various devices used to obscure the real total." U.S. officials admit "a little over 50,000."

The May 11 New York Times reported that university students in Bangkok have opposed the presence of U.S. bases in Thailand and are reportedly "organizing a rally to call for the withdrawal of the United States troops."

These various disclosures provide a glimpse of the nature of current U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia. They show that the government methods revealed by Watergate and the Pentagon papers are not exceptions to the way imperialism functions. These methods are standard operating procedure, and they continue to be relied on today.

— The Militant

labor Challenge #80 June 11 1973

Canada retreats from Viet role, but still complicit

by THE EDITORS

External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp announced May 29 that Canada was withdrawing all its forces from the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) in Vietnam by July 31.

This announcement does not end the government's complicity in U.S. aggression against the Indochinese people. Rather, it points to the crucial role played by Canada in enforcing the unjust Paris accords and helping to shore up the U.S. puppet Saigon government.

The ICCS was established as one of the many concessions forced onto the Vietnamese revolutionaries with the Paris accords. Its purpose was to enforce the accords, by bringing the weight of world public opinion to bear on the liberation forces, who would have been forced to challenge the status quo in Vietnam in order to survive and continue their struggle against the Thieu regime in Saigon.

ICCS forces entered Vietnam at a crucial time. After years of heroic struggle, the Vietnamese along with the worldwide antiwar movement, had forced the U.S. to withdraw its forces from Vietnam. The problem for Nixon was how to extricate himself from the situation, to gain time, without allowing his client regime in Saigon to fall.

BUREAUCRATS AID

Nixon's search for a solution took him to Peking and Moscow, where he found the Stalinist bureaucrats very cooperative. They were not interested in seeing a victorious socialist revolution in Indochina. They were more concerned with trade deals and a worldwide detente. And they were in a position to help Nixon — by bringing pressure to bear on the Vietnamese revolutionaries who depended on their aid, forcing the liberation fighters to make crucial concessions in their struggles.

Thus the Paris accords represented not a victory for the Vietnamese, but rather an international deal imposed on them. While containing some gains for the liberation forces the accords solved none of the issues on which the civil war had been fought for decades. They did not remove foreign intervention — Thieu would continue to be backed up by U.S. economic and military aid, and if necessary, the return of the U.S. bombers from Thailand and the American fleet off the coast. The accords continued the division of Vietnam into two countries — making the North Vietnamese "foreigners" in the South. Land reform and democratic rights would continue to be blocked by the Thieu government. Two administrations — Thieu's and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) were recognized in South Vietnam — with the balance of forces in favor of Thieu.

In order to change the balance of forces, the PRG would have to challenge the power of Thieu and seek to overthrow him. But the

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CANADA IN VIETNAM. Canadian intervention in Vietnam, scheduled to end by July 31, was designed to shore up U.S.-backed Saigon regime. Here, Canadian officer supervises release of prisoners-of-war.

labor Challenge #80

Editorial

Apologist for U.S.

continued from page 12

accords tied their hands, committing the liberation forces to negotiate the future of the country with Thieu.

The period directly following the signing of the ceasefire accords was crucial for imperialism. There remained the danger of a revolutionary upsurge, that could upset the balance as the U.S. withdrew its forces. Thus, the role of the ICCS was very important in bringing international pressure to bear on the revolutionaries, stabilizing the status quo in favor of Thieu.

CANADA PLAYED KEY ROLE

Canada was called on to play the key role on the ICCS, whose members also included Poland, Hungary and Indonesia. The role of complicity in U.S. aggression that Canada had played for 19 years on the International Control Commission was continued in a somewhat different form.

Sharp was able to carry out this role with very little opposition in Canada. Forces in the antiwar movement who had previously identified with the campaign against Canada's complicity supported the accords, and thus the legitimacy of the ICCS, which in its very nature violated the Vietnamese right of self-determination. Only the Trotskyists maintained a principled opposition to Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

The NDP leadership argued for the intervention in exactly the same terms as Trudeau and Sharp, reinforcing illusions in the ability of the accords to bring peace to Vietnam. The Communist party, in line with Moscow's accommodation to Washington's interests, campaigned for support to the accords, and thus, for the ICCS.

OPINION SHIFTS

As it became clear that there was no peace, a sense of unease developed throughout Canada, reflecting itself in the shift in the position of the NDP leadership, which began calling for withdrawal from the ICCS, due to the continuation of the civil war in Vietnam.

Thus, Sharp's announcement of withdrawal May 29 was met with general public approval. All the parties in the House of Commons supported the move.

Ironically, the Communist party was the only political force in the country to oppose Canadian withdrawal. The May 30 issue of Canadian Tribune carries a statement of the central executive of the CP which urged the government to stay in Vietnam. "Rather than withdrawing from the ICCS," the statement says in part, "Canadian policy should be directed to helping stabilize the situation in South Vietnam by upholding the ceasefire agreements."

COVER FOR U.S.

Canada played out its role well. The Canadian forces set out to use every possible opportunity to make it appear that the PRG and North Vietnamese were the criminals, not the victims. Canada was quick to accuse the liberation forces of "violations" of the ceasefire — actually actions taken to defend their lives and territory. Meanwhile, U.S. bombing in Cambodia and Laos, Thieu's assault on PRG-held areas of the country, the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of his political opponents, the forced confinement of refugees who wish to return to their homes in PRG territories, rated scarcely a mention.

One episode shows Canada's scandalous role particularly well. On April 7, PRG anti-aircraft fire downed an off-course ICCS helicopter, killing nine people, including a Canadian. Officials both in Vietnam and Canada seized the occasion to try to slander the liberation forces. Calling the incident "outrageous," Mitchell Sharp claimed that the PRG had extracted false testimony from the officers aboard a second helicopter, which landed near the crash site. Canadian ambassador Michel Gauvin claimed that the helicopters were not off course, as the PRG stated, and when an investigation confirmed the PRG's testimony, Gauvin hinted that the wreckage had been moved.

When all the Canadian allegations had been shown to be false, Gauvin asserted that the forces who shot down the errant helicopter were not PRG troops at all — but "foreign" infiltrators — from North Vietnam.

Now the Canadian government is moving to pull out of Vietnam. Thieu's regime has been maintained through the difficult period immediately following the ceasefire accords. The Canadian intervention was always within defined limits, with the government fearing the possibility of mass actions developing against its intervention, thus impairing its ability to move elsewhere in defense of world imperialist interests.

But Canada's complicity in the U.S. war of aggression against the Indochinese continues. Canada still sells military equipment and strategic resources to the U.S. for use in bombing Cambodia and Laos, and for aid to the Thieu regime. Canadian medical and economic aid continues to go to help shore up the Saigon government, but no aid goes to the PRG or North Vietnam. Sharp's announcement of Canadian withdrawal even contains a loophole — Canada is willing to return to the ICCS to help supervise an "election" in South Vietnam if one is called. And the government has never dissociated Canada from U.S. aggression in Indochina and demanded that all the U.S. planes, ships, men and materiel get out of Southeast Asia now.

Behind the Nixon-Brezhnev summit

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U.S.-USSR deals won't end wars

Come hell or high water — or Watergate — President Nixon and Soviet Communist party chairman Leonid Brezhnev were determined to proceed with the latter's visit to the United States this month.

So solicitous is the Kremlin for the success of the tour that a total blackout has been imposed on Watergate news throughout the USSR media. Likewise in the United States, Democratic and Republican congressional leaders joined in bipartisan unanimity to cancel the Watergate hearings for the week of Brezhnev's visit. For office-holders in both Moscow and Washington, whatever partisan advantage might be gained from the flood of scandal engulfing the Nixon administration is outweighed by the possible gains from the Soviet leader's visit, a new step in the unfolding of the worldwide detente between the major imperialist powers and the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking.

The origins and implications of the detente are analyzed in the document published on these pages, part of the Political Resolution adopted by the April 20-23 convention of the Canadian Trotskyist movement, the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

As the resolution notes, the detente results from a confluence of factors, reflecting the economic and political difficulties confronting the respective camps in the Cold War. An important aspect is the commercial deals involved. The U.S. capitalists are interested in breaking into the "Eastern Market" of the workers states of China, the USSR and Eastern Europe, protected by the state monopoly on foreign trade. Through important new trade and investment deals, U.S. capitalists hope to alleviate the growing problems they face from heightened inter-imperialist competition, their balance of trade deficit, and the weakening position of the U.S. dollar.

The Moscow and Peking regimes, for their part, look to increased commercial dealings with the West to import the superior technology of the imperialist countries and to relieve the growing pressure for consumer goods and higher living standards from the Soviet and Chinese masses.

Political considerations are vital. The leaders in Moscow and Peking alike, in their narrow nationalist attempts to build "socialism in one country," have shown many times that they are not above making deals with separate groups of imperialist nations directed against each other. The Chinese leadership, for example, has responded to Moscow's threats along its borders and the doctrine of "limited sovereignty" enunciated by Brezhnev to rationalize the invasion of Czechoslovakia, by seeking diplomatic deals with NATO members and Japan.

For Nixon, one goal of his discussions with Brezhnev is to get the Kremlin to attempt to apply the same pressure against the Arab revolution as it has against the Vietnamese revolution. Moscow is today vying for military contracts with the brutal dictatorship of the Shah of Iran, who plans to use these weapons to help crush any popular struggles in the entire area around the oil-rich Persian-Arab Gulf.

The detente is not confined to Nixon's deals with Moscow and Peking. It includes the "normalization" of relations between East and West Germany; the long-term political and economic agreement between Bonn and Moscow; agreements between Bonn, Warsaw and Prague; China's efforts to work out a deal with Japan; and the negotiations between North and South Korea.

There have been deals between the workers states and the capitalist countries before, of course. But the scope of the current detente is what is new — comprising an unprecedented degree of economic cooperation combined with a generalized counterrevolutionary political deal between the imperialist rulers and Stalinist overlords of the workers states on a world scale.

Both Moscow and Peking are encouraging powerful illusions in their own camps that imperialism as a world system can be disarmed, and that the threat it poses to the workers states can be permanently eliminated, short of the triumph of socialism in the major capitalist countries. With this goes the bureaucrats' concept that the social system of the workers states based on nationalized property relations can coexist peacefully with capitalist states, based on private property and the profit drive. So committed are the leaders in the Kremlin to preserving the international status quo that Brezhnev stated in West Germany during his visit last month that he looked forward to working in cooperation with West German capitalists for "30, 40, or 50 years." He certainly does not look forward to the possibility of a revolutionary struggle by the German working class to take over industry from the capitalists. Such a struggle would inspire the workers in the USSR itself to rise up against the ruling bureaucratic caste presently headed by Brezhnev.

If for the bureaucrats the detente is a long-term perspective, for the imperialists it is only a temporary retreat from their general aim which is not only to halt the advance of the socialist revolution but to roll back previously-established conquests, and

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ultimately to restore capitalism in the USSR and China. They feel the need for help from Moscow and Peking to hold back revolutionary struggles. The diplomatic deals and concessions by the USSR and China serve only to embolden the imperialist warmakers — as was demonstrated in Vietnam where the lack of response by Moscow and Peking to each step of the U.S. aggression only encouraged Washington to escalate its counterrevolutionary assault.

Noting the negative impact of the Watergate scandals on Nixon's bargaining position, the Globe and Mail concluded in a June 16 editorial that "the construction of a new world order (the capitalists are capable of such talk, too, when it benefits them) . . . cannot be much extended until and if the President recovers from his domestic disaster." The capitalist circles in Canada that the Globe speaks for, however, view this complication with some equanimity:

"From a general Western point of view, there is no cause for disappointment in this delay. Rather the contrary: there are at present too many alarming cracks in the existing structure of relationships between North America, Europe and Japan. Any major realignment of U.S. and Soviet interests would inevitably cause new strains and possibly severe damage.

"The western monetary system with which Japan is associated is in appalling disarray. A tough round of trade negotiations lies ahead, and U.S. policy is toying with the possibility of various protectionist devices. The European Community is involved with its own economic and political reorganization, and all its leading members have been unresponsive if not hostile toward U.S. proposals for a new attempt to define and shape an Atlantic community . . ."

Coming from a mouthpiece of a U.S. competitor-ally long noted for its harmony of views with Washington on international matters, this quotation underscores the changed situation within the Western imperialist alliance from a few years ago. The era of absolute U.S. postwar hegemony is over. The capitalist allies of Washington, emboldened by the economic difficulties of U.S. capitalism and their growing competitive advantages, are more insistent in demanding a bigger share of the spoils of imperialist exploitation on a world scale. They, too, are competing for entry into and favored positions within the "Eastern Market."

At the same time, the contradictions within the imperialist alliance are growing. Big problems confront the major imperialist powers, which Washington's deals with Moscow and Peking alone cannot resolve. Not least of these is the continuing dilemma of world imperialism in Southeast Asia, still far from stabilized as the recent Kissinger-Le Duc Tho negotiations indicate.

The construction of a "new world order" based on peace, cooperation and freedom will be achieved not by diplomatic and commercial deals of the type being negotiated in Washington, but only by the struggles of the workers of the world and their allies who will sweep the capitalists and the bureaucratic usurpers from power and establish a world socialist society of peace and plenty for all.

The betrayal of the revolutionary struggle in Indochina by Moscow and Peking has underscored the worldwide crisis of working class leadership which today constitutes a major obstacle to the qualitative advance of the revolutionary struggle. The need for a revolutionary leadership armed with a correct program and strategy is the main conclusion of the document published here. Written in February, it provides a valuable and comprehensive analysis of what is at stake in the Nixon-Brezhnev summit. (D.F.)

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LSA/LSO analysis

Meaning of the detente

With the signing of the ceasefire accords in January, 1973, the liberation struggle in Indochina — focus of the world contest of forces between revolution and counter-revolution for the past decade — passed a turning point. The Vietnamese revolution has been compelled to make serious concessions to imperialism and its puppet Thieu regime. The Vietnamese setback is a direct result of one of the most vicious betrayals committed by world Stalinism in its long and treacherous history.

1) VIETNAM: FOCUS OF INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE

For world imperialism, the U.S. and allied aggression against the Vietnamese revolution was a critical test of whether it could stop the colonial revolution in its tracks, to intimidate and deter revolutionary forces around the world. But the heroic resistance of the Indochinese combatants, their military victories against the armies of the world's mightiest power, instead served to inspire all sectors of the world revolution. In particular, the Indochinese resistance gave rise to a movement of opposition to the imperialist war, which, while international in scope, was most wide-spread within the United States itself, ultimately winning the support of a majority of the American population for its demands. Antiwar sentiment at home and among the troops forced Washington to abandon use of its own foot soldiers to occupy extensive territory or conduct major military offensives, and made it unable to use the full extent of its military arsenal against the Vietnamese.

Washington's intervention in Southeast Asia became an object-lesson on the limitations of U.S. imperialism's ability to extend its empire.

The mighty offensive launched in the spring of 1972 by the Vietnamese liberation fighters demonstrated anew the continuing, powerful revolutionary capacities of the Vietnamese people of both North and South, and the ability of the North Vietnamese workers state to rebuild its war-torn economy and continue the struggle in the face of the horrendous bombing attacks of U.S. imperialism. The armies of Washington's client Saigon regime collapsed before the revolutionary onslaught. Only massive air power, backed by the Pentagon's awesome nuclear arsenal, stood in the way of a military defeat of U.S. imperialism in the whole of Indochina.

In spite of the weakness of the world movement of solidarity, the inadequacy of aid from the workers states, and the absence of a world revolutionary leadership able to mobilize massive support on an international scale, the Vietnamese liberation fighters had forced world imperialism to a stalemate.

The victories of this poor and relatively ill-armed people were an inspiring example and encouragement to anti-imperialist struggles across the colonial world. Within the imperialist countries, especially the United States itself, the Vietnamese resistance accelerated the radicalization of student youth, encouraged the self-determination struggles of national minorities (Blacks, Chicanos), and provoked a split in public opinion reaching into the top layers of the ruling class over the conduct of the war, which in turn provided important openings for the antiwar movement.

2) THE UNFOLDING OF THE DETENTE

Washington's enormous expenditures on the war and maintenance of its far-flung military empire of bases and "aid" to client regimes have aggravated massive inflationary pressures built into the structures of postwar capitalism. Combined with the shrinking of America's productivity advantage in world markets, and increased rivalry from its leading imperialist partner-competitors, these developments have served to undermine the strength of the U.S. dollar and the U.S. competitive position in the world market.

Confronted with its growing economic difficulties and the military stalemate in Indochina, U.S. imperialism under Nixon carried out a turn toward detente with the workers states. Through a number of moves such as the opening toward Peking, Washington indicated it was prepared, temporarily, to accept the reality of the social conquests of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. In return, the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking were to give guarantees of active aid to the U.S. in its efforts to disarm those forces engaged in the struggle against imperialist domination, especially the Indochinese. A competition in servility to U.S. imperialism opened up between the Stalinist leaders, reaching new peaks in the Spring of 1972. Brezhnev and Kosygin wined and dined Nixon in Moscow while the U.S. imposed its blockade on North Vietnam and resumed continual bombing at a new peak of ferocity in order to crush the liberation forces' offensive. Moscow had clearly indicated that its desire for increased trade with the U.S. took precedence to its commitment to defend the North Vietnamese workers state.

Peking had already made clear its readiness for a rapprochement with Washington at the expense of the revolutionary movement, through its support of Bandaranaike's brutal repression in Ceylon, and its endorsation of Yahya Khan's war on Bangladesh and Nimeiry's suppression of the Sudan rebellion. In February, Mao and Chou had greeted Nixon in Peking, while U.S. bombs rained down on their ally, North Vietnam.

The bureaucrats of all the Stalinized workers states had good reason to fear the powerful dynamic that an all-out victory of the Vietnamese against imperialism would unleash elsewhere, including within their own borders. As for Washington, the diplomatic detente was necessary to extricate it from its military and political dilemma in Southeast Asia, to defuse antiwar dissent in the United States, and thereby to facilitate the moves toward a new U.S. offensive in world trade (wage controls, protectionist legislation, intensified competition for new markets both in the workers' states and among its leading imperialist rivals).

3) THE VIETNAM ACCORD

The ceasefire accord signed in January between Washington and its Saigon puppet, on the one hand, and the North Vietnamese and the Provisional Revolutionary Government on the other, contains many important concessions by the Vietnamese which, in their totality, amount to a serious setback to the Vietnamese revolution and by extension to the entire colonial revolution.

According to the stated terms (the secret clauses, such as the mutual agreement to delay a Laos ceasefire, have only begun to come to light), Washington wrung from the embattled Vietnamese the following major concessions: the South Vietnamese counterrevolutionary regime headed by Thieu remains intact, as does its army (one million men) and air force (the third biggest in the world); Washington continues to station its vast air force and naval fleet in Southeast Asia, including neighboring countries like Thailand and Cambodia, maintaining the threat of resumption of large-scale bombing of Vietnam as well as serving to suppress

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indigenous revolutionary movements in those countries; there is no provision for freeing the thousands of political prisoners presently in Thieu's jails, who face mass liquidation at the hands of his executioners; capitalist social relations remain in South Vietnam, and both sides in the agreement are pledged to defend and protect the "right to property ownership and the right to free enterprise"; and the provision for a supervisory force including Canadian participation to oversee implementation of the accords constitutes a further negation of the Vietnamese people's right of self-determination.

Despite these important concessions, the accords represent a tactical retreat by U.S. imperialism, which has failed, at least for the time being, in its major aims: to eliminate the National Liberation Front as an effective political force, to create a stable regime in Saigon capable of guaranteeing capitalist rule throughout the whole of South Vietnam. Nixon has been forced to withdraw his troops from Vietnam while allowing North Vietnam to leave its forces in the South. The Saigon government is far from stabilized. The liberation forces retain control over a significant section of the South Vietnamese countryside. The withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam marks the accomplishment of a long sought-for goal of the Vietnamese struggle and the world antiwar movement, and restricts the ability of U.S. imperialism to carry out similar interventions in other sectors of the world revolution.

But the real magnitude of these concessions forced from U.S. imperialism must be measured against what could have been won and has not. Thieu remains in power, capitalist social relations have not been overturned, the South Vietnamese peasantry has not gained control over its land, and the Vietnamese people have not won recognition of their right of self-determination..

The accord recognizes in effect two administrations, that of the NLF/ PRG, and that of Thieu, with the relationship of forces favoring the latter. These two governments and two armies are instructed to settle their profound differences through elections. But the regime of militarists, landlords, bankers and millionaire dope peddlers cannot coexist peacefully for any length of time with the revolutionary armies representing the peasants, workers and students. The Thieu regime has moved out under the eyes of the Canadian-chaired "International Commission of Control and Supervision," to retake areas held by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. The civil war is certain to continue. The crucial question is, will the liberation forces respond with revolutionary action against Thieu's offensive? Sharply posed is the absolute necessity for the emergence and development of a consistently revolutionary vanguard in Vietnam. The actions of the North Vietnamese and PRG leadership in embellishing the terms of the accord, and in engaging in secret diplomacy with U.S. imperialism, are not encouraging portents for the future.

The primary responsibility for this setback to the revolution, however, is the colossal betrayal of the Vietnamese liberation fighters by the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking. Nixon and his predecessors in the White House have carefully gauged the reactions of the workers states prior to and during each successive escalation of their aggression against the revolution. At every stage they have been reassured and emboldened by the cynical indifference of the bureaucratic leaderships. The Soviet Union and China have given only the most minimal material assistance to the beleaguered North Vietnamese workers state, subjected to the most intensive bombing attacks in history — doling out aid with an eyedropper. Moscow has given more military aid to capitalist Egypt than to North Vietnam!

At no stage has either the USSR or China sserted their solidarity with the inviolability of North Vietnamese territory or airspace. On the contrary, each government, vying with the other for U.S. favors, has failed to answer the massive provocations by Washington. The summitry between Washington and Moscow in May 1972, while the U.S. blockaded North Vietnam, escalated its terror bombing and even threatened to use nuclear arms against the Vietnamese, is paralleled in cynicism only by the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939. Moscow could fete Nixon without fear of exposure from Peking, since the latter had carried out the same operation with Nixon a few months previously even while the head of U.S. imperialism continued to bomb North Vietnam.

Both Moscow and Peking have reacted to the signing of the accords in a similar vein. The Peking leadership have greeted them as "a brilliant victory" for the liberation forces, Brezhnev as "a peaceful and just solution," opening up "new prospects . . . for creating a peaceful, united, democratic Vietnam." Moscow has already issued ominous warnings that it will not tolerate "violations" of the ceasefire accords by any "party" (presumably including the North Vietnamese and PRG) to the accords. Premier Chou En-Lai for this part has hinted that China sees the continued presence of U.S. forces in Southeast Asia not as a threat to its own territory, but as a "counter" to Soviet influence.

The bureaucrats of each workers state are guided not by the interests of the world revolut ion, but by their own narrow nationalist interests.

The Vietnamese have been likewise betrayed by the international Social Democracy. Accepting cold-war ideology in all its essentials, the New Democratic Party leadership in Canada, like its social-democratic co-thinkers elsewhere, not only failed to oppose U.S. and allied intervention in Southeast Asia, but actually attempted initially to endorse and justify it, on the grounds that foreign intervention originated not with U.S. imperialism but — China! Under the impact of the antiwar movement and the mass antiwar sentiment. the Social Democrats later modified such stances, uttering occasional criticisms of the U.S. role, and some individual spokesmen of the NDP

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MYLAI MASSACRE. 'Peaceful co[illegible]scow, Peking bureaucrats encouraged U.S. aggression against Vietnames[illegible]

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gave voice to rank-and-file opposition to Canada's complicity in the war, Nowhere did the NDP play a serious role in building the antiwar movement, or campaigning consistently against U.S. aggression and Canadian complicity in the war.

With the negotiation of the ceasefire accords, the NDP leadership became persistent advocates of Canadian intervention in Vietnam through membership in the supervisory "peacekeeping" operation. The NDP's support of Canadian membership in the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) was instrumental in preparing the way for Ottawa's latest act of complicity in imperialist machinations. The perfidious role of the Social Democrats reached its nadir in the supine subservience to Washington's war aims manifested by the British Labour government headed by Harold Wilson.

The independent antiwar movement, while showing its capacity to mobilize masses in powerful actions for U.S. withdrawal and against their "own" governments' complicity in the war, was hindered in these efforts by the political and organizational hegemony of Stalinism and Social Democracy in the workers' movement in most of the major capitalist countries.

Thus at the moment of approaching their greatest triumph, a crushing victory over U.S. imperialism and its puppet regime in last year's offensive, the Vietnamese liberation fighters were confronted with their greatest betrayal, a sellout by their Stalinist allies in reckless pursuit of accommodation with Washington, in the name of peaceful coexistence.

The immediate effect of the Moscow-Peking detente with Washington has been to disarm and demobilize the antiwar movement, ensure Nixon's re-election, and embolden world imperialism to move out in new ways against the working class in attempts to resolve its economic problems.

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4) IMPLICATIONS OF THE DETENTE

·The Washington-Moscow / Peking summits have brought in their wake a series of smaller ones (Brandt's "Ostpolitik," Tokyo's rapprochement with Peking, the "reunification" talks between the two Koreas, etc.). These political maneuvers accompanying the general rush of the various imperialist powers for major trade agreements with the workers states, have contributed to a general atmosphere of detente, reinforcing popular illusions in the peaceful nature and intentions of world imperialism.

Will the Moscow-Washington detente encompass a concerted attempt at a Middle East settlement? What are the economic ramifications of the deal? These questions cannot yet be answered; the full scope of the U.S. deals with Moscow and Peking is not yet clear. Nor can the full impact of the detente on world politics yet be assessed. But one thing is certain: imperialism has gained time, and won new flexibility in meeting the political challenges before it.

Imperialism has gained a breathing space. But there is no evidence that it has succeeded in stabilizing its situation in any long-term way.

a) While the revolutionary forces in Indochina have suffered a setback, none of the summits or deals has settled any of the fundamental social problems that generate conflict in the world. The U.S. was forced to seek an accommodation with the Stalinist bureaucrats by i) the political setback to U.S. imperialism in Indochina, ii) the growing economic difficulties of world imperialism, in particular their impact on U.S. capitalism, and iii) the growing pressure on capitalist rulers everywhere of the worldwide radicalization whose roots lie in many sources not solely the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

b) The detente does not flow from a general retreat of the world revolution. There have been serious setbacks in the recent period (Ceylon, Bolivia, defeat of the Palestinian resistance in Jordan, the temporary stabilization of the Indian bourgeois government as a result of its victory in the Indo-Pakistani war, etc.), but (with the important exception of Indonesia, 1965), nothing on the order of the successive, crushing defeats of the revolution — China, Germany, Spain, France, the Moscow Trials — that set the stage for the Second Imperialist War of 1939-45.

The current imperialist maneuvers, far from crushing revolutionary movements or workers states, are designed to give ground in order to gain time. Imperialism has yielded significant concessions, e.g. in the diplomatic field, the recognition of China, moves to "normalize" relations with the German Democratic Republic; on the economic front, impending U.S. trade agreements with the USSR and other workers states.

These concessions also result from and encourage the general undermining of cold war sentiments among the masses of the imperialist countries — depriving imperialism of one of the key weapons it employed for the last twenty-five years to stabilize the class struggle and reinforce its rule. The lessened capacity of the capitalist rulers to use redbaiting and repression is one of the greatest achievements of the recent period of radicalization.

c) Even as imperialism conducts emergency preventative maneuvers to relieve pressure on the key political fronts, the underlying economic contradictions deepening its crisis remain unresolved.

In the late 1960s, the long postwar expansion began to slacken, reflected in recessions of greater scope, intensity and frequency. The simultaneous speedup of inflation (the cost of "concealed" overproduction) together with slowed economic growth in a whole series of imperialist countries has precipitated an ongoing crisis in the postwar international monetary system. The de facto devaluation of the U.S. dollar in December 1971 and the accompanying Smithsonian agreements did not resolve this crisis that threatens to undermine international credit and thus the expansion of world trade — as evidenced by the second devaluation only fourteen months later, in February 1973, and the subsequent

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'... Imperialism has gained a breathing space. But it has not stabilized its situation in any long-term way'

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further decline of the dollar.

The slowdown of growth, exacerbated by the failure of the market to expand commensurate with the enormous productive capacity of industry (particularly the pace-setting industries of postwar expansion), accentuates inter-imperialist contradictions, intensifying the worldwide search for markets. Measures by some countries such as the United States to protect their domestic markets against growing penetrations from rivals, only aggravate the problems.

The growing international interpenetration of capital has promoted an evening out of levels of productivity and competitiveness among the different imperialist economies, and a lessening margin of monetary and financial maneuver for the various national bourgeoisies, faced with increasing competition from their imperialist rivals.

d) The increasing problems of world capitalism have set the stage for a general rise of social struggles in the imperialist countries in recent years. The scope and diversity of the phenomenon is illustrated by a few examples — the 1969 strike wave in Italy, the student-based antiwar movement in the United States, the mass struggles of oppressed nationalities in the U.S., Canada and the British Isles, the militant student movement in West Germany, the anti-Common Market campaigns in Britain, Norway and Denmark, the mounting antidictatorial struggle in Spain, the rise of the feminist consciousness and the women's movement in virtually all countries, etc. The worker-student revolt in France, in May 1968, was at once the most indicative and far-reaching example. For a few days the workers' mobilization posed the concrete possibility of the overthrow of the bourgeois order and the conquest of power by the workers and their allies.

e) If world imperialism has by no means resolved its underlying contradictions, the deformed and degenerated workers states are likewise experiencing continuing instability.

The "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was the biggest explosion of revolutionary mass action in Eastern Europe since the October-November 1956 revolution in Hungary, thrusting forward demands for socialist democracy, posing the need for a "return to Lenin," to the workers democracy of the early Soviet state, and bringing the working class into the antibureaucratic struggle as an independent force.

The Kremlin succeeded through its military invasion, occupation and mass repression in suppressing the Czech movement and in "normalizing" its control. But this has not stopped the spread of the antibureaucratic mass movement to other countries. During the massive workers revolt in Poland in December 1970, striking workers took over entire cities and succeeded in winning and maintaining important gains on the economic level (e.g. price controls). The Polish revolt, likewise raising demands for socialist democracy, was directed against the Communist party leadership — posing the need for a new, revolutionary political party.

In the Soviet Union itself, the Kremlin has been unable to suppress the heroic attempts by oppositionists to publish their views clandestinely, recorded in the spread of "samizdat" literature, and the growing struggle for democratic rights.

Behind these political challenges are the growing economic crises in the workers states. On the economic front the ruling bureaucracy is confronted by the failure of hypercentralized bureaucratic planning to maintain economic growth, although this growth still remains superior to the growth rate of capitalist states. On the ideological front, the bureaucracy's failure is much more pronounced. Forced by political pressures to "de-Stalinize," that is, dissociate itself from the "excesses" of Stalinism, it is unable to develop a consistent ideological line to replace the Stalinist doctrine. The combined result of these different factors is continuing crisis within the "socialist camp," and between the workers states and the Communist parties of the rest of the world.

Two aspects of the antibureaucratic struggle within the workers states are of particular note: 1) the role of democratic demands, which pose a frontal challenge to the bureaucracy's arbitrary rule (lacking an independent economic base, it is all the more vulnerable to political demands for free speech, the right to demonstrate, etc.); and 2) the role of the nationalities question, a special aspect of the struggle for democracy — the self-determination struggles of Crimean Tatars, Ukrainians, Baltic peoples, Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, etc.

These developments belie any scheme of general reversal of the underlying trends of the past decade, one of general radicalization and ferment. There are elements of profound instability in the present situation, not least the continuing dilemma of U.S. and world imperialism in Southeast Asia, and — most significant — the continued thrust forward and deepening of the class struggle in the main imperialist centers.

5) THE WORLDWIDE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

What we are witnessing today is the reaffirmation of the main historical contradiction of our epoch, the crisis of revolutionary leadership. The setbacks to the world revolution — in Indochina, the Indian subcontinent, the Palestinian resistance, Latin America — are the result above all of the counterrevolutionary politics of Stalinism, of both Mao and Brezhnev schools. The experience of recent years has also exposed the bankruptcy of Guevarism and the guerrilla war strategy (Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, etc.). In the imperialist countries, the leaderships of the traditional workers organizations continue to resist the radicalizing forces now developing. The Social-Democratic and labor-reformist leaderships continue to manifest the bureaucracy's drift toward increasing integration in the apparatus of the bourgeois state through parliamentary and governmental experience. The mass Stalinist parties in Western Europe remain outposts of the Kremlin.

A new vanguard layer of young radicals and revolutionary-oriented youth, the advanced elements emerging from the developing social struggles, is grappling with the problems of forming a new, revolutionary alternative leadership.

The Moscow-Peking betrayals do not denote any qualitative change in the nature of the Soviet and Chinese regimes or in their overall orientation (which has consistently been one of vying for accommodation

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with world imperialism), any more than Nixon's "turn" indicates an end to the imperialist war drive. If in the betrayals of the 1930s the Stalinists were able to strengthen their hold on the workers' movement, today there is no sign that they have been able to halt or turn back the radicalization. In general, Moscow-oriented Stalinism long ago lost much of its former attraction for radicalizing youth. Maoism, recently a pole of attraction for many revolutionary-minded youth is today in general decline as an international current.

However, only a small minority anywhere has broken with reformist illusions. Recent events have indicated anew that imperialism, while confronting increasing difficulties, still enjoys a not inconsiderable margin of maneuver — and can benefit immensely from the betrayals of Stalinism, the absence of a united and revolutionary leadership in the bloc of workers' states.

In the absence of a strong world revolutionary leadership which can serve as a viable pole of attraction for the mass of radicalizing elements, reformist options of all types have gained a new lease on life, as seen in many imperialist countries in the recent accession to political office of reformist labor-based parties, or in new alliances between Stalinists and Social Democrats (e.g. France's Union de la Gauche).

The present developments do not indicate an end to the general forward movement of the world revolution. Rather, far from being confronted by some new turn in the world relationship of forces between imperialism and the workers states, the revolutionary process has come up against the limitations imposed by the present configuration of forces **within the international working class movement itself.**

These limitations include not only the traditional reformist and neo-reformist leaderships of Social Democracy and Stalinism, but also the erroneous theories which have developed in the course of the current youth radicalization: Guevarism in Latin America, neo-anarchist terrorism, spontaneism, primitive workerism, ultraleftism in general, which have hindered the consolidation of strong Troskyist groups with a Marxist program capable of reaching out to the working masses and leading them in anticapitalist struggle.

These false leaderships and theories constitute a serious block to the further qualitative advance of the revolutionary forces. They will be confronted and overcome only on the basis of a principled revolutionary program and strategy.

The reformist leaderships, whatever their conjunctural attractivity to the masses, are of course unable to contain, still less adequately respond to, the challenges posed by the new radicalization. Thus if reformism is the main immediate beneficiary of the current radicalization or rise in class struggles, the shape and thrust of the underlying process continues to present important openings for

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...Leadership crisis

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the revolutionary Marxists' intervention. Most important, we are given valuable **time to prepare** for the mass revolutionary upsurges of the future, time to build our cadres, to develop the revolutionary mass leaders that can lead the upsurges of the future to victory.

We face today unique and unprecedented possibilities for the construction of the world party of socialist revolution. Among a whole new layer of radicalizing youth, there is a new interest in and sympathy for the ideas and program of Trostkyism as incorporated in the Fourth International. If broad layers of these new youth "vanguards" manifest a certain hesitancy to rush into revolutionary **action,** it is largely because they have had negative experiences with ultraleftist and reformist leaderships. Their growing scepticism toward spontaneism, Maoism and other forms of Stalinism is complemented by a deepening interest in and concern for revolutionary Marxist theory as upheld by the international Trotskyist movement.

At the same time, there is a continuing tendency to look for shortcuts to bypass the traditional leaderships which retain their influence and power through their base in the conservative consciousness of the working class, its loyalty to its own organizations.

The new revolutionary elements are developing largely independently of the traditional mass organizations of the workers, and in general lack the grounding and experience that can best be gained from adherence to a mass revolutionary party with continuity and developed cadres. The new expressions of the radicalization, their unique features and uneven development, have presented new challenges to the revolutionary Marxists — to develop demands and tactics that can gain maximum advantage from every contradiction of capitalist society, which can thrust forward each independent component of the struggle, at the same time linking all together in a consistent integrated strategy for the seizure of power in each country.

Posed very sharply is the necessity of a transitional program and strategy for today's movements of struggle — a period of preparation and cadre-building for the mass upsurges of tomorrow. An approach which combines the struggles for immediate and democratic demands with transitional demands — that is, a strategy which seeks to mobilize the masses in anticapitalist action — this is what distinguishes the revolutionary Marxists of the Fourth International from all other currents, false leaderships and contenders in the workers' movement.

Our success as a world party in assimilating these methods and applying this strategy will determine our prospects for revolutionary advance in the next surge forward.

labor Challenge #82 July 9 1973

Break from cold war ideology!

by DENNIS MARLON

The radicalization of the past decade has challenged many of the fundamental "cold war" myths, on which Canadian foreign policy rested. Yet the NDP leadership continues to bolster illusions as to the real nature of Ottawa's international role.

The Vietnam war opened the eyes of millions of people around the world. They could see that what had been called the "free world" was carrying on a brutal genocidal assault against an heroic people, fighting for control of their country.

Vietnam also exposed Canadian foreign policy. Canada was shown to be a partner in U.S. genocide — the supplier of arms, the apologist, the spy for the Pentagon and State Department. Thousands of Canadians joined demonstrations demanding immediate U.S. withdrawal and an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

Pressure from the antiwar movement and from the NDP ranks forced the party leadership to change its position on Vietnam. In 1965, party leaders were naming China as the aggressor. By 1970, the party was condemning U.S. aggression and identifying with the actions of the antiwar movement. But the party leadership never provided more than pious words to build the campaign against the war.

While criticizing the United States, the NDP did not change its concept of the peaceful intentions of the Canadian government. Consistent with its position in favor of numerous United Nations "peacekeeping" missions in the past, the NDP leadership supported and campaigned for Canadian intervention in Vietnam through the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) early this year, in violation of the Vietnamese right of self-determination.

During the period following the Vietnam ceasefire, Canadian forces on the ICCS did everything they could to bolster the power of the Thieu regime, and to point the finger at the liberation forces as aggressors for defending themselves against Thieu's military offensive in South Vietnam. The NDP parliamentary caucus raised no criticisms of the Canadian force.

When the Canadian government announced that it was, for its own tactical reasons, pulling out of the ICCS, NDP foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin used the occasion to defend Canada's role: "Peacekeeping and the use of observer teams have not been discredited by what has happened . . . (They) remain, as they have in the past and will in the future, an important instrument in the making of peace."

NDP policy, backing up the maneuvers of world imperialism, flows from the party leadership's identification with the Canadian state. They see themselves as future administrators of Canadian capitalism, and thus defend its interests internationally. Thus, the NDP leaders are willing to violate the most elementary principles of support to self-determination struggles.

A socialist foreign policy would put the NDP fully behind movements for social change and liberation everywhere in the world. Placing no faith in the army of the Canadian ruling class, it would oppose the sending of Canadian troops anywhere. Rather, it would seek to aid and defend international revolutionary movements. This would not stop at parliamentary speeches — it would be carried into the streets through mobilizing the base of the party.

A socialist alternative to the NDP leadership's foreign policy includes:

VIETNAM

The federal convention should commit the NDP to exposing the continuing U.S. aggression against the people of Indochina. The NDP should seek to build demonstrations and other protest actions against U.S. bombing in Cambodia, demanding that the U.S. get all its forces and materiel out of Southeast Asia now, and that the Canadian government end all aspects of its complicity in the war.

MIDDLE EAST

The convention should dissociate the NDP from federal leader David Lewis's support of Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. During a recent visit to Israel, Lewis went so far as to support Israel's refusal to give up the territory it seized during the 1967 six-day war. The NDP must support the Palestinians' struggle for the lands stolen from them by Israel, and call for the dismantling of the Zionist state. It must also call for the creation of a democratic secular Palestine.

MILITARY ALLIANCES

When the NORAD agreement was renewed by the Canadian govern-

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... Get out of NATO, NORAD

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ment this spring, the NDP's voice was barely heard in parliament, much less in the streets of Canada. The NDP should be campaigning for Canadian withdrawal from NORAD and NATO.

They are nuclear-armed forces, directed both against the workers states and also against revolutionary developments within the member states. NATO arms are used by Portugal to crush Afrian liberation struggles, and by the Greek colonels to maintain their dictatorship. NATO forces in Europe serve as potential repressive forces against the workers' movement.

Canada should not join the Organization of American States. Little was heard from the NDP when Canada accepted observer status on the body in February, 1972, although the party is committed by convention vote to oppose it. The OAS remains an aggressive force, dominated by U.S. imperialism and its Latin American puppets aimed against liberation struggles and in particular against Cuba.

FOREIGN AID

The NDP must reject the present foreign aid programs of the Canadian government, which are used to bolster repressive regimes and provide markets for Canadian business abroad. The NDP should call for aid to those countries that are fighting imperialism and building socialism. In particular, Canada should extend its trade and aid with Cuba and North Vietnam which are blockaded by U.S. imperialism. Aid should also be given to anti-imperialist movements fighting for freedom in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

#83 July 23 1973

labor Challenge

New revelations

Canada's hand in Vietnam genocide

TRUDEAU AND NIXON in Ottawa celebrate the long partnership of Canadian and U.S. governments in genocidal Indochina war. Latest Pentagon Papers revelations disclose details of Canada's

by GEORGE ADDISON

Material from hitherto-unpublished parts of the Pentagon Papers provides new evidence of the depths of Canada's complicity in the Indochina war. According to the papers, former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson approved the bombing of North Vietnam months before U.S. president Lyndon Johnson escalated the war. Other revelations show how Canada spied for the U.S., and on a number of occasions, helped provide a rationale for escalations of the war.

The revelations were unearthed by S.J. Noumoff, a professor at McGill University, who had access to the secret, diplomatic sections of the Pentagon papers while helping in the defense for Daniel Ellsberg charged with releasing the papers. Following the dismissal of the charges against Ellsberg in May, the secret parts of the papers were made publicly available in the Los Angeles courthouse.

While the entire text of the papers have not been published, a series of articles based on the papers by Noumoff and Toronto Globe and Mail correspondent Charles Taylor appeared in the Globe July 6-10.

The most sensational part of the Canadian revelations describes how Pearson gave his approval to the bombing of North Vietnam in May, 1964. Pearson also agreed to U.S. President Johnson's request to use J. Blair Seaborn, Canada's representative on the International Control Commission, to convey messages for the U.S. to Hanoi. The messages, cleared and approved by Ottawa, were threats to North Vietnam, part of Johnson's "carrot and stick" diplomacy in escalating the war.

A cable from the U.S. State Department to Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. ambassador to Saigon, dated May 30, 1964, described the Pearson-Johnson meeting two days before: "President told Pearson that he wishes Hanoi to know, that while he is a man of peace, he does not intend to permit the North Vietnamese to take over Southeast Asia. He needs a confidential and responsible interlocutor to carry the message of U.S. attitudes to Hanoi. In outlining the U.S. position there was some discussion of 'carrots and sticks.'

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Pearson approved N.Vietnam bombing

← p. 1

"Pearson, after expressing willingness to lend Canadian good offices to this endeavor, indicated some concern about this (sic) nature of the 'sticks.' He stipulated that he would have great reservations about the use of nuclear weapons, but indicated that the punitive striking of discriminate targets by careful iron bombs would be 'a different thing.'

"He said he would personally understand our resort to such measures if the messages transmitted through the Canadian channel failed to produce any alleviation of North Vietnamese aggression and that Canada would transmit messages around this framework."

Thus, while Pearson may have balked at nuclear weapons, he clearly did give approval to the terror bombing **before** the Tonkin Gulf incident was used by the U.S. as its pretext to begin bombing of North Vietnam. This makes Canada a co-conspirator in U.S. genocide.

The publication of the main body of the Pentagon Papers in June, 1971, presented a skeleton outline of many of the current revelations, including the activities of Seaborn. But the new material

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continued from page 1 provides much more information as to the specific instructions and actions of Canadian diplomats.

One document, entitled "Instructions for Canadian Interlocutor with Hanoi," dated June 1, 1964, graphically describes Seaborn's role as spy and agent for the U.S.

The instructions from the U.S. State Department tell Seaborn that aside from "establishing his credentials as a political personality who can and will deal with senior representatives of the Hanoi regime," he "should also, by listening to the arguments and observing the attitudes of the North Vietnamese, form an evaluation of their mental outlook. He should be particularly alert to (a) differences with respect to the Sino-Soviet split, (b) frustrations of war weariness, (c) indications of North Vietnamese desire for contacts with the West, (d) evidences of cliques or factions in the Party or Government, and (e) evidence of differences between the political and the military.

"Mr. Seaborn should explore the nature and the prevalence of Chinese Communist influence in North Vietnam; and perhaps through direct discussions with the Soviet representatives, evaluate the nature and influence of the Soviets."

After listing other U.S. positions for Seaborn to convey, the instructions explain that he should operate "on the assumptions that (a) a U.S. decision has been taken to act against North Vietnam and (b) we plan to use 'carrots' as well as a 'stick' on Hanoi."

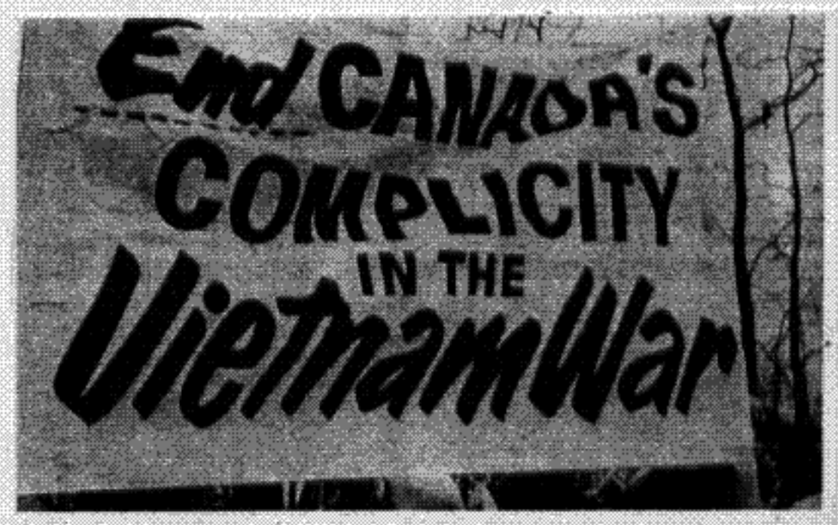
The State Department is quite clear on what it considers the "stick" to mean: "unless Hanoi stops the war within a specified time period (i.e. ceases all attacks, acts of terror, sabotage or armed propaganda or other armed resistance to (Saigon) government authority by the VC (Vietcong)), the United States will initiate action by air and naval means against North Vietnam until Hanoi does agree to stop the war."

Seaborn was then, the carrier of direct threats of bombing to North Vietnam. He was also asked to do a bit of spying on the side.

The mission was accomplished in some six trips to Hanoi by Seaborn in 1964-65. He wrote back full reports of all his meetings, as well as his assessments of morale in North Vietnam. **All the reports and instructions went to and from the U.S. through the External Affairs Department in Ottawa.**

When the North Vietnamese finally refused to deal with Seaborn any more, Ottawa used other methods to serve imperialist aims in Vietnam. The Pentagon Papers review a number of so-called "peace initiatives" by Canada, including statements by Pearson and External Affairs minister Paul Martin, and two trips by retired diplomat Chester Ronning. All were designed to put pressure on the North Vietnamese to bow to U.S. demands that it give up its resistance struggle. Even the government's request that the U.S. stop bombing North Vietnam was calculated, in Martin's words, as a means to create "a new situation," where "new pressures could be brought upon North Vietnam."

The evidence in the Pentagon Papers has been denied by Paul Martin, now government leader in the Senate, and by the Pearson family. Replying to questions in the House of Commons, July 9, External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp said he had "nothing to add" to a statement he had made in the House on June 17, 1971, when he stated that "we were not allied to the United States in its operations in Indochina."



"END CANADA'S COMPLICITY" has been a central slogan of the Canadian antiwar movement since its inception. New Pentagon Papers revelations show depth of Canada's involvement.

The government has also found loyal defenders in the Canadian news media. Since the first revelations on the Pearson-Johnson meeting, the press has been doing its utmost to make it appear that the government was acting honestly and properly.

The Toronto Star, in an editorial entitled "Pearson's reputation still stands," said the former Prime Minister "should not be suspected of such devious folly."

"We know from the papers," editorialized the Globe and Mail, "that Canada did certain things of which the public was only partially informed at the time, and that those things — however they may have miscarried — were aimed at ending the war."

But the documentary evidence in the Pentagon Papers proves otherwise. The Canadian government was part of the U.S. war effort, providing the pretext and rationale for escalation (as well as providing $2,860 million worth of arms between 1959 and 1971).

And this complicity continues to this day. The government has never broken from its support for U.S. aggression. Canada's role on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) for the past six months was but a continuation of its established policy.

The government (and the press) lied about the Indochina war for years. Only the antiwar movement and the socialists told the truth, and campaigned for an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

But how much still remains hidden? The Canadian government must open its files to the public, and let all the facts be known on its role in the Indochina war.

In future issues of Labor Challenge, we will describe and comment on further Pentagon Papers revelations of Canada's complicity.

labor Challenge #83 July 23 1973

Nixon seeks Peking aid

Cambodian rebels advance

by DICK ROBERTS

"Cambodian ceasefire mostly up to Peking" declared the headline of the July 7 Christian Science Monitor. It expresses the hopes of the Nixon administration as Cambodian ruler Lon Nol's military position continues to deteriorate under the impact of rebel advances.

"China now appears to loom as the key to a long-sought ceasefire in Cambodia," Monitor correspondent Charlotte Saikowski wrote from Washington, D.C.

"As President Nixon grapples urgently for a way out of the Cambodian impasse,' Saikowski continued, "the question arises: Can he convince Peking to bring enough pressure to bear on its client, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, to negotiate a settlement in that politically confused corner of Indochina?"

It is widely believed that Peking has been the main ammunition supplier to the Cambodian rebels. Last week Sihanouk charged that ammunition had been cut off since January as a result of the big-power detente.

In San Clemente, July 6, President Nixon met with Huang Chen, China's special emissary to the United States on the Cambodian situation. It was also confirmed by the White House that Henry Kissinger would visit Peking in early August to discuss Cambodia.

When Kissinger was asked in Los Angeles about Peking's possible role in a Cambodian ceasefire, he replied, "The public expressions of the Chinese leaders have been in the direction of peace throughout Indochina." This is Kissinger's way of saying that he is confident Peking will betray the rebel forces by supporting a settlement favorable to Washington. That is, one allowing a pro-U.S. regime to remain in power in Pnompenh.

In Peking, Premier Chou En-lai sought at a banquet with Sihanouk to give the impression that China would not desert the liberation forces. Chou condemned the continued U.S. bombing of Cambodia.

However, Sihanouk, spoke at the same banquet. Toronto Globe and Mail correspondent John Burns reported: "Prince Norodom Sihanouk has issued an impassioned appeal to third-world countries to support his forces in Cambodia, and in effect, break the Paris agreement by supplying arms and ammunition . . . .

"(Prince) Sihanouk's pledge that his forces will continue the fight 'even if there are left for them only the archaic weapons of their ancestors' left many diplomats with the impression that the military arm of the Prince's united front government may be facing an arms and ammunition shortage greater than the Prince previously has been willing to concede.

"If directed principally at China, there was nothing in Premier Chou's speech to indicate Peking is ready to comply," the Globe correspondent commented. Burns continued, "The Chinese leader made no mention of arms . . . .

"Diplomats in Peking considered it highly unlikely Peking will agree to Mr. Sihanouk's plea since doing so would involve a breach of an international accord, and cut the ground from China's vigorous condemnation of U.S. military interference in Cambodia."

CAMBODIAN VILLAGE destroyed by U.S. bombing. As Lon Nol troops retreat, Peking and Moscow pressure rebels to compromise with Pnompenh dictatorship.

Meanwhile Washington has made it clear that it has no intentions of abiding by the Aug. 15 congressional bombing cutoff date if Pnompenh's military situation hasn't improved.

The new chief of the Pentagon, James Schlesinger, told a news conference July 6 that it was "quite possible" Nixon would seek a bombing extension if the situation continued to deteriorate. In the same conference, Schlesinger pleaded with the Lon Nol regime to "demonstrate that it had the inner strength and discipline to survive," reported the New York Times July 7.

These are odd words considering the Lon Nol regime is so notoriously corrupt that it collects millions of dollars from Washington to support "phantom" units of its army, and that its sole reason for survival is the murderous daily bombing of the rebel forces by U.S. planes.

Further confirmation that Washington is seeking help from Moscow and Peking to arrange a deal came from Pnompenh itself. On July 9, In Tam, premier of the Lon Nol government, declared that Washington had not consulted him nor informed him about negotiations. "This is a problem for Khmers to discuss with Khmers," said In Tam.

The U.S. embassy in Pnompenh answered with the arrogant statement that "it's not enough to just say the Khmers have to work this out themselves. They have to work it out in a framework established by the great powers and others."

The Militant

labor Challenge #84 Aug. 6 1973

Troops leave Vietnam

Canada served imperialism

by GEORGE ADDISON

According to the two Canadian soldiers captured by Vietnamese liberation forces last month, the Vietnamese freedom fighters have two words for this country. As spelled in Vietnamese — Ga-nai-dai — it means the member of the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS), observing the ceasefire settlement in South Vietnam.

But as spelled in English — Canada — it means the force in Vietnam that has replaced the United States as adviser to the brutal Saigon regime.

Apparently the captors of the Canadian soldiers were confused whether these men were from "Ga-nai-dai" or "Canada." But from the record of Canada's intervention in Vietnam — now coming to an end after six months — there can be no mistake. "Ga-nai-dai" was as insubstantial as the supposed ceasefire. "Canada" was this country's real role.

There is little wonder that the liberation forces should think the Canadian soldiers, Captains Ian Patten and Fletcher Thomson, were U.S. spies or agents for the Thieu regime. A previous visit by Canadian ICCS forces was followed by heavy bombing by the Saigon air force. And Canada's representatives on the ICCS have consistently supported U.S. and Saigon war aims.

As for the charges of Patten and Thomson that they were tortured by the NLF forces, their own testimony belies the charge. Patten admitted that they were treated "humanely" by the liberation forces. Doctors reported that the men were in healthy condition, with absolutely no injuries. Certainly they were treated far better than anyone captured by Thieu's army!

It is indeed surprising that they were treated so well, given the suffering that Canada has caused to the people of Vietnam.

Canada's role on the ICCS as advocate for Saigon was spelled out by ambassador Michel Gauvin on his arrival in Ottawa from South Vietnam. Gauvin told reporters that he and the Canadian ICCS delegation set out from the beginning to correct what he called a "lack of balance" favoring the liberation forces.

(Gauvin will now resume his duties as Canadian ambassador to Greece. He will undoubtedly be better disposed towards the Greek colonels than he was towards the Vietnamese, Hungarians and Poles whom he regularly attacked on the commission.)

Canada went into Vietnam last January, not as a peacekeeper (there was no peace to keep) but as part of an imperialist maneuver to help the Thieu dictatorship hold power during the crucial period as the U.S. extricated its forces from South Vietnam. Canada's job, which it carried out remarkably well, was to make sure that the Paris peace accords were implemented to the advantage of Thieu and the U.S. Thus Canada closed its eyes to the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners in Thieu's jails and to the Saigon military offensive against territory held by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG), while drawing world attention to alleged "infiltration" of the South by North Vietnamese troops. The evidence? The latest Canadian ICCS report cites the highly questionable testimony of a few captured liberation soldiers, who were undoubtedly subjected to Thieu's infamous torture.

Gauvin's report makes the further ludicrous charge that large numbers of North Vietnamese doctors, lawyers and engineers are moving into PRG-held areas "to practice their profession." To the Canadians, even help in rebuilding the country — devastated by U.S. bombs — is a Communist plot!

Vietnam is one country, not two. Yet the Canadian government continues to foster the myth that the Vietnamese liberation forces are "infiltrating" their own country. Vietnam was forcibly divided by the Geneva Accords of 1954. The division has been maintained only by the terror of U.S. imperialism and its puppet Saigon regime, with the aid of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats, who have never given adequate aid to the liberation forces.

This year's ceasefire settlement reinforces the division of the country by underwriting the legitimacy of the Thieu regime. Since the accords were signed in January Thieu has moved to consolidate his power and even attempt to extend it by attacks on PRG territory. Moscow and Peking have apparently kept their part of the bargain by cutting down the flow of arms to North Vietnam. And the U.S. remains elsewhere in Southeast Asia, ready to intervene if anything goes wrong.

Canada went into Vietnam as a member of the ICCS to make sure the status quo was maintained to Thieu's advantage. Dispute after dispute erupted on the commission between Canada and Indonesia on the one side, and Poland and Hungary on the other. Gauvin's "open mouth diplomacy" meant denouncing the Hungarians and Poles, or the PRG and North Vietnam, when everything did not work out to Canada's liking. The aim of this policy was to change world public opinion — which over the years had come to oppose U.S. aggression and be sympathetic to the liberation forces — to support for the U.S. and Saigon, drawing attention away from their continuing crimes.

Now Canadian troops are leaving Vietnam, their task at least partially successful. According to a July 25 Canadian Press dispatch from Saigon, as one of their final acts each Canadian ICCS member will shake hands with Brig. Gen. Phan Hoa Hiep, deputy chief of the Saigon delegation to the Joint Military Commission.

There could not be a more fitting final ceremony.

CANADIAN ICCS MEMBER surveys rubble of destroyed Vietnamese village.

labor Challenge

#84

Nixon's secret Cambodian war

Confronted with the disclosures of a former air force officer, the Nixon administration admitted July 16 that it had carried out a secret air war against Cambodia during 1969 and 1970.

Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger acknowledged that between March 1969 and May 1970 — when Nixon sent U.S. ground troops across the Cambodia-South Vietnam border — U.S. B-52 bombers conducted 3,630 raids and dropped 104,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia.

This confession was brought about by the testimony of Hal M. Knight, who served as an air-control officer in South Vietnam. Knight told members of the Senate Armed Services Committee of elaborate precautions for keeping the raids secret, including a "double entry" system of reporting the attacks. Within the regular air force secret channels, the raids were described as occurring in South Vietnam, and all evidence indicating the truth was burned.

"Military sources did confirm, however," Seymour M. Hersh reported in the July 18 New York Times, "that information about the Cambodian raids was directly provided to President Nixon and his top national security advisers, including Henry A. Kissinger."

Even after the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the subsequent publicly admitted air raids, Nixon continued to conceal the 1969-70 attacks. Classified reports on the bombing in Indochina provided to members of Congress in 1971 and again early this year said that there were no B-52 raids in Cambodia prior to May 1970.

The continuation of the cover-up even after that date was presumably designed to keep another of Nixon's lies from being exposed. On April 30, 1970, Nixon went on television to announce the Cambodian invasion and said:

"For the past five years . . . North Vietnam has occupied military sanctuaries along the Cambodian frontier with South Vietnam. For five years, neither the United States nor South Vietnam has moved against those enemy sanctuaries because we did not wish to violate the territory of a neutral nation."

It appears that Nixon did inform a few members of Congress of the raids if it was clear in advance that they would approve. After Knight's testimony, Senator Barry Goldwater said that he had known of the attacks. Goldwater said that the raids were carried out at the request of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

"Administration officials," Hersh reported in a July 18 dispatch, "have justified the stringent security surrounding the secret bombing raids by contending that a delicate understanding permitting such raids had been negotiated with Prince Norodom Sihanouk, then the Cambodian Chief of State. One of the conditions of that agreement, officials said, was the Prince's insistence that no public announcements be made."

While any statement from the Nixon gang is made suspect by its source, Hersh's report gains credence from the fact that Sihanouk, prior to his overthrow by a CIA-engineered coup, never publicly denounced the raids. It would hardly be likely that 104,000 tons of bombs could completely escape his notice.

The disclosure of the secret Cambodian bombing naturally raises the question of what other secret operations have been, or are being, carried out. In an interview with Hersh, Knight observed: "We were all S.A.C. (Strategic Air Command). If somebody could have punched the right number into the right spot, they could have had us bombing China if they wanted to."

Apparently moved by Knight's disclosures, another former air force officer has volunteered further details about Nixon's war in Indochina. Hersh reported that former Captain Gerald J. Greven had contacted Senator Harold Hughes, a member of the Armed Services Committee, to describe a deliberate bombing attack on a National Liberation Front hospital. Attacks on hospitals are outlawed by both the Hague and Geneva Conventions.

Greven said that the attack occurred in late March or early April of 1969. He told Hersh that he was a forward air controller and radioed a report from ground troops to planes instructing them as to the location of the hospital they were to attack. Hersh continued:

"At a ground briefing after the mission, Mr. Greven recalled, 'I was admonished' for mentioning the word hospital over the radio.' The senior officer in charge said, 'You know you're not supposed to use that terminology.' I remember using it and felt bad about it, because I had been briefed prior to not use it. I know that I shouldn't have,' Mr. Greven related."

— Intercontinental Press

labor Challenge #85 Sept. 10 1973

Washington seeks deal with Sihanouk

by DICK ROBERTS

Everything is in place for a full-scale resumption of U.S. bombing in Cambodia. In Washington, D.C., Um Sim, the ambassador to the United States of the crumbling Lon Nol regime, has appealed to the "moral obligation" of Washington not to betray "a small country which has cast its fate with you."

Phnompenh was encouraged to take this step by President Nixon's bellicose address to the Veterans of Foreign Wars in New Orleans, Aug. 20. Nixon attacked the compromise with Congress that he agreed to six weeks ago to halt the U.S. bombing of Cambodia Aug. 15. He said "this congressional act undermines the prospect of world peace by raising doubts in the minds of both friends and adversaries concerning the resolve and capacity of the United States to stand by international agreements when they are violated by other parties."

Meanwhile, the Pentagon has announced that the Saigon regime could "legally" use U.S. military equipment to invade Cambodia to attack North Vietnamese "sanctuaries." Washington maintains that there are 43,000 North Vietnamese troops in Cambodia.

While the bombing of Cambod a is temporarily suspended, abc it 400 U.S. fighter-bombers and 175 B-52s remain on call in Thailand, in Guam, and aboard aircraft carriers in the region. President Nixon has said he will take "appropriate action" if the situation warrants it.

But Nixon's hands are tied. In the face of the overwhelming American disgust with the White House and its Watergate band of hoodlums, the president is unwilling to confront Congress on the Cambodia issue.

In these circumstances, Washington appears to be seeking a compromise with the former ruler of Cambodia, Norodom Sihanouk. U.S. News and World Report, a magazine that often reflects the Pentagon's viewpoint, declared in its Aug. 27 issue that the "general feeling (in Phnompenh) was that one of two things would happen: Either the Government would crumple through military defeat, or negotiations with the insurgents would produce a new regime, perhaps one headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was ousted in a coup that led to the outbreak of war in 1970."

Christian Science Monitor expert on Sino-Soviet affairs, Joseph Harasch, wrote Aug. 21, "A reneutralization under Prince Sihanouk is preferred in Washington . . . ." Harsch believes that the alternative to Sihanouk is conquest of Cambodia by Hanoi.

But Sihanouk is not biting so far. In an interview in Peking Aug. 21, he attacked President Nixon for charging that he had approved of the secret 1969 bombing of Cambodia. Globe and Mail correspondent John Burns reported the Sihanouk interview: "It is futile for Americans and others to appeal for a negotiated settlement that would place him at the head of a coalition government, because such a solution is advanced only as a means of perpetuating America's neocolonialism, (Sihanouk) said.

"Besides, he went on, he is powerless to prevent a Communist triumph, even if he wanted to, which he does not.

"The Communists would provide Cambodia with an independent, neutralist government free from corruption, something even he had been unable to accomplish in his years in power, the Prince said."

According to Globe reporter Burns, "Prince Sihanouk also said that ammunition shortages and fear of renewed American shortages and fear of renewed American intervention had persuaded the Communists in Cambodia to put off any attempt to take Phnom Penh until the beginning of the dry season in December at the earliest."

President Nixon kept up the deadly bombing of Cambodia until the last moment. By Aug. 15 there had been 160 consecutive days of intensive B-52 bombing. In four-and-a-half years the United States dropped more than 240,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia alone, 50 percent more than the conventional explosives dropped on Japan in World War II.

But this holocaust of destruction utterly failed to crush the revolutionary tide. The civil war continues with the Lon Nol regime controlling only Phnompenh and a few other cities. The rebels control some 85 percent of the rest of the country.

The demand of those who defend the right of the Cambodians and the other peoples of Indochina to determine their own destiny must remain what it has been from the outset: total and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military support from Southeast Asia.

—The Militant

'Thanks a lot'

labor Challenge #86

Where GMR goes wrong on Vietnam

by A. CHARBONNEAU

The following article has been translated from the August-September issue of the Quebec revolutionary-socialist monthly, Liberation, which reflects the views of the Trotskyist Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Quebec counterpart of the League for Socialist Action.

The "Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire" (GMR) is a small organization headed by Michel Mill whose members split from the LSO and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes a year ago.

* * *

In January, the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire (GMR — Revolutionary Marxist Group), took the same stand as the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking in supporting the Paris accords imposed by imperialism on the Vietnamese people. The scandalous cries of "victory" by these left tendencies were denounced by the Trotskyists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO). The Trotskyists had to explain that the accords represented "concessions wrenched from the Vietnamese workers and peasants by means of systematic massacres and Stalinist betrayals." (Liberation, no. 20, March 73).

While defending the right of the Vietnamese to accept military or geographic concessions if they consider them to be necessary, the LSO explained that socialists in other countries, who were not under the bombs, had to take advantage of their freedom of action to denounce any conditions imposed on the Vietnamese, any limitation of the right of the Vietnamese to their national self-determination, any recognition of the division of Vietnam and any presence of imperialist troops (for example, Canadian troops) or the presence of other troops whose goal is to keep "peace," in the form of the International Commission for Control and Supervision.

As for the socialist principle of the political independence of the labor movement, the LSO insisted on the necessity of denouncing any popular front program and any idea of a "government of national reconciliation and concord" including both the Thieu regime and the liberation forces. For the LSO, it was necessary to fight any attempt by the pacifists and Stalinists to divert the antiwar struggle away from its original goal — the withdrawal of all foreign troops and complete self-determination — towards an illusary campaign in favor of Nixon's signature on a scrap of paper.

Since it published a leaflet in January entitled "Nixon must yield!," which states that the signing of the accords "would signify a gigantic step forward" for the Vietnamese revolution, the GMR has been forced by the events in Vietnam and by the criticisms of the LSO, to contradict its own lies about the Paris accords, without however modifying its fundamental program which is centered on "respect" of the agreements.

If in January the Vietnamese revolutionaries were "perhaps on the eve of winning an important political victory," in May the GMR notes (in their paper, La Taupe Rouge, no. 5) that the "American government is not ready to abandon its role of defender of capitalist interests," that the "resolution of the struggle is not to be foreseen in the near future," and that it was suddenly "difficult to foresee how the events in Indochina will unfold." The GMR has discovered that Nixon will not abandon "his struggle against Communism so easily," an elementary truth which the LSO stressed in January, explaining that the Paris accords left intact the proimperialist regime of capitalists and landlords.

If in January "a situation of dual power" existed where "the probable disintegration of the puppet military and administrative apparatuses" was to be expected, in May it was a question of "a quasi-fascist situation in fact" in South Vietnam, marked by "the accelerated arming of the puppet armies"! In January the GMR hailed the great advantages of the accords, which were "made **possible** by the extremely favorable evolution of the relationship of forces in Indochina itself," and which would create "conditions that would facilitate the revolutionary struggle of the masses . . ."

The GMR had little difficulty in propagating their favorable evaluation of these accords which allowed American imperialism to disarm the antiwar movement. Even Mitchell Sharp, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, viewed the accords favorably: "We welcomed these accords, with satisfaction. We consider them to be a valid agreement, providing a basis of peace which is as sound and honorable as could be negotiated. If the parties decide to abide by them, and we hope they will . . ."

In May, for the first time, the GMR communicates new information to us: The accords were "able to impose limits on the revolutionary struggle" and "the accords were wrenched from the Vietnamese by force!"

How can these "revolutionary Marxists" justify the putting forward of a program which has as its first demand (see the GMR leaflet of January 20) "Immediate signing of the accords!," while these same accords imposed limits on the revolutionary struggle and had been wrenched from the Vietnamese by force?

How could the GMR violate the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination by accepting that Nixon had the "right" to impose conditions on them, and by accepting the conditions themselves? How could the GMR express such confidence in Nixon and in the value of a signature of an imperialist, to the point of demanding that bandit's signature as the first demand in its program?

Isn't it odd that "revolutionary Marxists" demanded the signing of the draft nine-point agreement when these same accords sought to establish a coalition government between the workers and the capitalists, and invited in imperialist troops from Canada to "keep the peace"?

The GMR program on the Vietnam war thus in no way conforms to the interests and the needs of the worker and peasant masses of Vietnam. Instead of pursuing the struggle in defense of the Vietnamese revolution, by demanding, like the LSO, the immediate withdrawal of imperialist and other troops of the ICCS, complete self-determination for the Vietnamese, and an end to Canada's complicity, the GMR, despite its evasions, is only demanding the "respect" of accords which endanger the revolution.

labor Challenge #89 Nov. 5 1973

Thinking it over

Trudeau's China trip: in Nixon's footsteps

From the press reports of Prime Minister Trudeau's Oct. 10-17 visit to China the Canadian public got a taste of what Trudeau's new election image might look like — Trudeau the statesman this time — but little inkling of just what was discussed in Peking's Great Hall of the People.

A sample of the pap served up by the Canadian media appeared in an Oct. 11 dispatch from the Toronto Globe and Mail's Peking Bureau. This was a report of an unscheduled news conference given to the 54 members of the Canadian press delegation by Chinese premier Chou En-lai. "What emerged from the rather disjointed conversation," the Globe reported with a straight face, "was that Mr. Chou thinks he is too old to visit Canada, suspects that some Chinese women might look better if they wore makeup and sees a startling likeness between a Toronto photographer and Karl Marx.

"For their part, the correspondents were able to tell the Premier that Canadians like to winter in the Caribbean and do not usually ask women their ages. They also assured him that he would enjoy walking in the Canadian countryside in the fall."

The visit was designed primarily for Canadian consumption. The Liberal party image-makers, seeing what a trip to China did for Richard Nixon's political fortunes obviously couldn't resist trying the same for their boy. It wasn't their fault that the Mideast war and the so-called energy crisis pushed Trudeau off the front pages.

We don't know what discussions Trudeau had with the Chinese leaders. Like all capitalist countries, Canada conducts its diplomacy behind closed doors, out of sight of public. This practice is also followed by the Chinese bureaucrats, who similarly refuse to allow the people to know what agreements are being made in their name. On the public record are only a series of unspectacular agreements dealing with trade, consular affairs, medicine, science and technology, education, culture and sport. Notable only was the agreement to allow China to open a consulate in Vancouver, and Canada to set up consulates in Shanghai or Canton. This gives Canada a certain trade advantage, as befits the country whose recognition of China helped break the logjam of diplomatic relations with the imperialist countries, and served as an opening probe for Nixon's moves for detente with the Peking rulers.

But mostly the trip was all public relations for Trudeau. The Chinese bureaucrats brought out crowds of schoolchildren to greet the Prime Minister, and spewed out effluent praise for Canadian foreign policy. Not one public word was said against Canada's participation in the aggressive, nuclear-armed military alliances, NATO and NORAD, nor Canada's perfidious role on the International Commission for Control and Supervision in Vietnam, not even Canada's part in U.S. aggression against North Korea and China in the Korean war. Detente in Europe and the Mideast war were apparently discussed privately, but as the Globe reported Oct. 18, "the Canadians came away pursuaded that the Chinese respect the stands Canada has taken, even if they do not agree with them."

That left Trudeau free to make his big demagogic play. Hypocritically posing as a peacemaker (while at the same time his government was offering troops to enforce the imposed "peace" in the Mideast), Trudeau spoke of Canadian foreign policy as seeking "to avoid tension, to strengthen institutions of international cooperation and assist the development of newly independent countries . . . That search has brought me to China."

More correctly, the "search" was to reestablish Canada's fading world position as a "peacemaker," and to win a few votes from the folks back home.

—GEORGE ADDISON

labor Challenge #95 Feb. 18 1974

EDITORIALS

Vietnam—One year after the accords, war rages on

More than a year after the signing of the Vietnam accords, hundreds of thousands of political prisoners remain in the prisons of Saigon dictator Thieu. The fighting goes on, with Thieu's forces, backed by massive military aid from the United States, launching continual raids on territory held by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG). In areas controlled by the Saigon regime, land that has been held by individual peasants for years is being returned to the rich landlords.

The North Vietnamese government claims that there have been 301,097 violations of the ceasefire accords by Saigon, including 34,266 land-grabbing operations, 35,532 artillery shellings, and 14,749 aerial bombardments.

Elsewhere in Southeast Asia, U.S. military presence continues. Its massive bases in Thailand were a powerful force bolstering the government against the student-worker upsurge in recent months. U.S. military backing to the corrupt dictator Lon Nol continues in Cambodia.

So much for the accords, which Washington, Moscow and Peking promised would bring peace to Indochina!

The Canadian government, which withdrew its troops, part of the International Commission for Control and Supervision, last July 31, is still involved in Vietnam. Canadian-manufactured arms are still going to the U.S. for use in Vietnam. Canadian government aid, amounting to $2.5 million a year goes to the Saigon regime, but not a penny to North Vietnam or the PRG. (Claire Culhane, former adviser to the Canadian-built hospital in Quang Ngai, says Canadian aid is being used by Saigon to build up its military operation.)

Moreover, the Trudeau government has failed to come to the aid of the political prisoners in Thieu's jails. Last November, 13 Canadian members of parliament gave External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp a brief urging Canada to bring the issue of political prisoners before the United Nations. According to NDP MP Andrew Brewin, Sharp has stalled on the request for the past three months.

One year after their signing, the Vietnam accords, which many in the Canadian left hailed as a victory for self-determination, can be seen in their true light. The accords allow U.S. imperialism to continue its control of South Vietnam without direct military intervention. Capitalism still rules, and the war goes on and on. As long as the brutal Thieu regime remains in power, there will be no peace in Vietnam. The Vietnamese masses will continue to fight for their national and social liberation.

Defenders of the right of the Vietnamese to control their own country must continue to demand the release of all the political prisoners, the complete and total end to all U.S. and Canadian aid to the Thieu regime, and the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

labor Challenge

#100 Apr. 29 1974

Pentagon continues intervention as Southeast Asian war rages on

by GEORGE ADDISON

Vietnam doesn't make the front pages anymore, but the war is grinding on, and increasing in intensity. More than 60,000 people have been killed in battles in Vietnam since the so-called ceasefire was brought into effect with the Paris accords of January, 1973. Moreover, the U.S. is still heavily involved in the war.

"I suppose you read the press agency cables from Saigon as carefully as I do," said Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk in an interview printed in the Jan. 7 **Far Eastern Economic Review.** "According to these cables and the statements of the two South Vietnamese governments, a real war has been going on in South Vietnam for several months, although the country is supposed to be at peace. There, every day, one counts more dead than in Cambodia, officially at war. The events in South Vietnam vindicate me. I repeat that the Paris agreement of Jan. 27, 1973, marked not only the end of the second Indochina war but the beginning of the third Indochina war. With an imperialist and colonialist as diabolical as Richard Nixon it will never be possible to have peace in Indochina.

"Whether they want it or not," the exiled head of state added, "the three peoples of Indochina who, in the course of their summit in April 1970 formed a front for common struggle, one day will have to reform this front of armed struggle and warfare, jointly, in order to finish with U.S. imperialism."

Thieu violates accords

The use of the term "third Indochina war" is appropriate, although it may be difficult to define when the second war ended and the third began. Today the Thieu regime in Saigon is engaged in a ferocious offensive against the liberation forces, and repression against opposition elements in Saigon-controlled areas. Since the ceasefire, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) has accused the Saigon regime of 301,097 violations of the accords, including 34,266 land-grabbing operations, 35,532 artillery shellings, 14,749 aerial bombardments and 216,550 police and "pacification" actions.

Political prisoners

In his own territory, Thieu holds a minimum of 200,000 political prisoners in his jails, more than one-half the estimated total number of political prisoners in the world, according to a recent study of the International Committee for the Liberation of South Vietnamese political prisoners. Among the prisoners are PRG supporters, religious dissidents, neutralists and pacifists.

SOME OF THE 200,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS Thieu holds in his jails.

The Thieu regime continues to exist only because it is being propped up by U.S. military and economic aid — to the tune of $1.126 billion in this fiscal year, according to official figures. During the first year of "peace" in Vietnam, the U.S. has spent only 25 percent less on weapons and ammunition for the Saigon army than it did during the full-scale war year of 1972. U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy's special Senate committee on refugees estimates that U.S. spending in Indochina is about $3 billion this year.

The U.S. Defense Attache's office in South Vietnam — originally scheduled to be dismantled early this year — still comprises about 1,150 people, according to official figures. Some 2,800 American civilians are employed by private companies under contract to the U.S. Defense Department. The real number of U.S. "advisers" is undoubtedly higher than these official figures.

U.S. props up Saigon dictator

The U.S. is not only propping up Thieu militarily. It is also bailing him out from his enormous economic difficulties. South Vietnam, which used to export rice, now imports 450,000 tons of rice a year to feed the population. The official unemployment rate in the Saigon-controlled areas is 25 percent. Inflation is soaring, with the price of rice tripling in the past year. The South Vietnamese piastre has been devalued 11 times since the ceasefire — from about 350 to the U.S. dollar in January 1973 to 560 in January 1974.

Thieu has offered enticing terms to foreign investors to bring cash into the country. These include 10-year tax holidays, sale of land at below market prices and the right to expatriate 100 percent of profits. But the investors have shunned Saigon, because of its economic difficulties. Thus, Thieu has turned to the U.S. for more and more aid — both to build up the war and to keep the economy from collapse. Early this year, Nixon asked the U.S. Congress for $474 million over and above the $1.126 billion he is already donating to his favorite puppet. While the House of Representatives turned down the extra appropriation, experience suggests that the government will probably find the money for Thieu among its other substantial resources, carefully hidden from the American people.

Thus, if you add up the factors in Vietnam, it is clear that the accords have not benefited the Vietnamese people — either in stopping the war, which still continues, or in winning their right to self-determination, still denied by the U.S. presence and the Thieu regime. Internationally, the massive antiwar movement which came to the aid of the Vietnamese, has been all but disbanded, due to people's illusions that the war was over. This situation has only made Thieu more aggressive, taking advantage of his opponents' weaknesses to push forward his offensive. He and his U.S. backers violate the accords at will: signed agreements are only

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pieces of paper to the imperialists. (Ask the native Americans about treaties!).

Cambodia

Nor is the U.S. intervention confined to South Vietnam. In Cambodia, U.S. forces are keeping supply lines open to the capital Phnom Penh, which has been under seige for months. The March 25 **Far Eastern Economic Review** reported: "A total of 1,200 men of the 2nd Battalion of the 4th Marine Regiment, plus supporting units, are waiting offshore on ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet . . . If necessary the troops are understood to have orders to enter the country in a show of force, probably to protect American civilians." The latter excuse is a favorite U.S. ploy for invasions. Washington's military aid to Cambodian dictator Lon Nol for the fiscal year ending in June will be $325 million, including a supplement of $200 million recently approved by the U.S. Congress. In addition, Washington is providing Phnom Penh with $170 million in "food grants" and $75 million in other "economic aid."

In Thailand, about 39,000 American troops are stationed, ready for action anywhere in Indochina. There are also the U.S. fleet off the coast and the bomber bases in Guam, the Phillipines and Thailand, ready to strike at any time.

Laos coalition

In Laos, a coalition government was established April 5. While the insurgent Pathet Lao forces have been included in the new government, headed by U.S.-puppet Souvanna Phouma, they are excluded from the crucial ministries — the army, police and finance — which are controlled by rightists and "neutralists." All members of the coalition have agreed to defend "free enterprise" and accept U.S. "aid." This is the third attempt at a coalition government in 20 years: both previous governments were broken by right-wing coups, engineered by the U.S. when imperialist interests appeared to be challenged. Laos is now divided into zones, controlled by each side, but the problems that brought about the Laotian civil war in the first place have not been removed. Thus, the Laotian accords have no better chance of working than those in Vietnam. Like Vietnam, they constitute a setback for the liberation forces, in compromising the independence of the peasants and workers, and in spreading illusions that the Laotians' problems can be solved without fundamental social change.

In this situation, the demand advanced in previous years by the antiwar movement remains relevant: For the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and aid from Indochina!

Should Canada stay in NATO?

forward
#1

by A. Levi

With the council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) taking place in the midst of the federal election in Ottawa, June 17-19, Canada's position in international affairs becomes a focus of attention. U.S. imperialism's Superman Henry Kissinger himself will be in attendance.

Canada's role in the world, whether under a Liberal or Tory government, has generally followed the perspective laid down by Prime Minister Borden in 1918, while Canada was still a colony of Great Britain. He stated that "I am beginning to feel that in the end and perhaps sooner than later, Canada must assume full sovereignty. She can give better service to Great Britain and the United States and the world in that way."

This type of "sovereignty" in the service of the interests of the ruling class of Great Britain and the United States, resulted at that time in the sending of Canadian troops to participate in the world-wide imperialist drive to smash the nascent, harassed Russian workers' republic.

This tradition has been loyally adhered to through the years. For a decade the Canadian government ran diplomatic cover for U.S. imperialism in its attempts to smash the Vietnamese peoples' struggle for independence at the same time as the Canadian economy supplied military equipment on a massive scale.

The Paris Accords of 1972 provided for the deployment of Canadian "peace-keeping" troops to help freeze the Vietnamese struggle, since the U.S., even after the most murderous bombing campaign in human history, was unable to smash it. And now, early this month, the Trudeau government agreed to station Canadian troops in Syrian territory, occupied by Israel in 1967, in line with the U.S. State Department's engineered ceasefire agreement.

Despite all the talk about a policy of benign aid and trade with other countries across the globe Ottawa's fundamental stance and position is expressed in its membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Born in the cold war, NATO is nothing more than a military alliance dominated by the U.S. and designed to provide a military back-up for imperialism across the world. The U.S. State Department's detente with China and the USSR, following the debacle in Vietnam, has thrown confusion into its European partners. How to restrengthen the alliance and sweeten it up will no doubt be the chief concern of the Ottawa conference.

Canada is further strapped in with the U.S. military through the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) and a military-industrial agreement, the Defense Production Sharing Agreement.

NORAD is now hopelessly outmoded by the development of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile but under its terms the U.S. maintains constant overflights over the Canadian north and maintains extensive military supplies and forces on Canadian soil. It was renewed for another two years last May 12. While it commits Canada to expenditures of hundreds of millions of dollars and ties Canada to U.S. military operations, it was renewed by a mere exchange of diplomatic notes without debate or approval of parliament. The commons was quietly informed by an announcement of the minister of national defence. Only the NDP members dissented from the majority report in the parliamentary committee.

The peril that this agreement holds for the Canadian people and the people of the entire world was revealed in a startling fashion only last October 24 when U.S. military officials unilaterally ordered a nuclear alert during the Mid-East crisis. Not only did parliament know nothing about it, no Ottawa official was informed until after the event. In explanation of this astonishing situation which thrust the world onto the brink of nuclear disaster Brigadier-General Gordon Ockenden stated that the Canadian personnel at the NORAD command "give their allegiance to both countries" on the basis that they are "NORADians first, and Canadian second."

David Lewis has pointed out that the corporate thumb lies heavily across the governmental institutions of Canada and through the Liberals or the Tories assures that it never, never goes into opposition. The control of the basic part of the Canadian economy is in the hands of U.S. corporate giants. They not only have profound influence over Ottawa's domestic policy but also over Ottawa's foreign policy.

Last summer the Trudeau government was exposed in the humiliating position of having on at least six previous occasions acquiesced to the refusal to fill Cuban orders by Canadian plants that are subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. While Canada recognizes Cuba, the orders were blocked by the branch-plant directors complying with a U.S. law passed in 1917 —Trading with the Enemy Act. This came to public attention when MLW-Worthington Limited, a subsidiary of Studebaker-Worthington of the U.S., had been stalled over working on an $18 million order for locomotives and parts. The Liberal party government had allocated $76.5 million under the Export Development Corporation to finance locomotive purchases from MLW-Worthington and this particular Cuban order was estimated to involve some 1,800 man-years of work for Canadians. In startling contrast to the humiliating acquiescence of the Trudeau government to this violation of sovereignty was the Argentinian government's instructions to the U.S. Auto giants to fill Cuban orders in their Argentine plants, or suffer their nationalization.

A foreign policy in the interests of the working people of Canada would first break Canada from any and all military alliances, including those that establish U.S.and NATO troops on Canadian soil and Canadian troops on foreign soil. It would brook no interference in Canadian trade with any other country and would put under public ownership any branch plants violating that. It would not defend in anyway the investments of Canadian capitalism or Canadian-based U.S. capitalism in other lands in their violation of the sovereign rights of the peoples of those lands, and would seek a relation of free trade and aid with all peoples.

forward #3 Oct. 1974

Canada's snow job in Vietnam — a review

guest review by William Garth; pen name of a well known writer on Canadian nationalism and Vietnam.

Snow Job: Canada, the United States and Vietnam (1954 to 1973), By Charles Taylor, Anansi, 209 pages, $3.95.

This book is best seen as a poor attempt at liberal muck-raking. It is poor because it continues to promote many of the myths concerning Canada's ICC role (1954-72) and fails to understand peacekeeping as an outgrowth of the rise of post-World War II American neo-colonialism. It is liberal because it portrays the war in Indochina as the result of two sides both more or less equally to blame for the fighting. There is no comprehension of the anti-colonial war against France and its translation into an anti-imperialist war against the United States.

As a whole, **Snow Job** has only one point to make — amid numerous distortions and contradictions — namely, that Canada was implicated in the American war effort and that this complicity was bad because the war was bad. Where Canada better camouflaged its role with the aid of the United Nations in Korea, the Suez, Lebanon, the Congo, and Cyprus and so on, it comes in for praise by Taylor (p.iv). In these cases, because Taylor does not understand Canada's role in the international arena, there was no 'snow job'.

Within the first few pages of the introduction one is wondering what Taylor means by the title, **Snow Job**. He writes: 'If the Americans did a snow job on the Canadian leaders, the Canadian leaders did an even bigger snow job on the Canadian people'. This important sentence fails to make much sense. Once duped it is impossible to dupe in turn because to do so presumes awareness of the real situation — which would not be the case if one was duped in the first place. This little problem in logic leads to one of the main inconsistencies in the book; namely, the question of the culpability of the Canadian leaders.

Taylor, however, never places them on the hook. In the line following the above, he absolves them by saying ' . . . they fooled themselves, through a tragic misunderstanding of the issues in Southeast Asia and misguided faith in the prowess of their own diplomacy. To the very end, Canada was an active and willing accomplice.' (p.viii). In other words, Taylor is arguing that although Canada was an accomplice in the war, it was due to naivete. This absolution (preposterous given the almost 20 years Canada spent in the war in Indochina and the extent of the suffering caused, largely indirectly but obviously consciously, by its actions) is constantly undermined, however, by Taylor's depiction of our leaders' complicity. This inconsistency pervades the book.

While Taylor is ambiguous about the guilt of Canadian leaders, he is completely in the dark on the question of Canada's role on the ICC which began in 1954. He perpetuates almost all of the standard myths the Canadian government has put forward about the ICC in his first chapter. He suggests, for example, that 'there was evidence that Hanoi was determined to restrict the Commission's activities . . .' (p.10). This is an apparent reference to Canada's attempt to embarrass Hanoi by demanding 'freedom of movement' for the ICC teams in 1954. By Canada's own admission, this demand was 'stretching' the terms of the Geneva accords and Hanoi was well within its rights to question the activities of the Commission. Taylor, of course, does not reveal what 'evidence' he is referring to. He writes, moreover, that Hanoi 'fustrated ICC attempts to inspect its routes to China'. (p.14). This point is but the complete acceptance of Canada's propaganda efforts in 1954-5. There was never any evidence that men or materials were crossing the China border; there was imply an accusation by a French general to that effect. Following this unsubstantiated allegation Canada plunged into looking for China routes with the zealousness of churchmen looking for infidels. The ICC found nothing, but Canada continued to insist that there was no proof something was not being imported! Throughout the first two years of the truce, Canada persisted in making provocative requests of the government in Hanoi, and when refused turned them into 'causes celebres'.

The biggest myth supported by Taylor, however, concerns the question of Canadian impartiality on the ICC. The Department of External Affairs has long argued that although Canada wanted to be impartial on the Commission, it was forced to take the side of Saigon and Washington because the Poles were so biased in favour of Hanoi. Taylor swallows this whole. But no one can read about Canadian foreign policy and not know that Canadian diplomats in the 1950's were every bit as anti-communist as John Foster Dulles. Pearson even paid tribute to the French colonial troops defeated at Diem Bien Phu, he supported the formation of SEATO — designed to provide the cover for American intervention in Indochina — and he argued the 'domino theory' as if it were his own creation.

But Taylor goes further and justifies the partiality of the Canadian ICC members. He says that it was 'natural for the Canadians to mix with their

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American colleagues (sic) in Saigon . . .' (p.16). And although he adds that this siding with the US 'was also unfortunate', Taylor makes it clear that he believes it was Hanoi and the Polish members of the ICC who were principally responsible for the demise of the effectiveness of the Commission. (p.17-19). A simple examination even of the U.S. appraisal of the Geneva accords makes it clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that if anyone stood to gain by the scrupulous enactment of the terms of the agreement, it was Hanoi. These are but a few of the myths unquestioningly accepted by Taylor in his first chapter.

His second and third chapters are really the core of the book. They treat respectively the Seaborn and Ronning missions to Hanoi.

He correctly points out how Seaborn, a Canadian ICC officer in 1964-5, was allowed by the government to be used to carry threats to Hanoi from Washington. The details of these missions are well known. Taylor concludes the chapter by arguing that 'by allowing Seaborn to carry US ultimatums to Hanoi, the government accepted an active role in the unfolding of (the) escalation . . . ' Thus, 'Canada became an active accessory to Washington's expansion of the conflict.' (p.84).

In the case of the Ronning missions (1965-66), Taylor is very sure of his interpretation. He sums them up in an expansive phrase: 'Once again a Canadian peace initiative had been perverted by Washington's relentless drive for military victory.' (p.119). To paint Canada's efforts in such a way is, to say the least, an overstatement. With all respect to Ronning, Canadian 'peace initiatives' were hollow concoctions; this senior diplomat made two exhausting trips to Hanoi with next to nothing in his hands; more than anything else, it appeared that they were show trips for Paul Martin's reputation.

The fourth chapter deals with Canada's role on the ICCS from January to August 1973. Here the confusion in Taylor's book becomes rampant. He excuses or downplays virtually all of the Canadian actions designed to ruin the operation of the ICCS and effect a political reunion of Vietnam. From the 'open mouth' policy (designed to permit constant propaganda against the PRG and Hanoi) to the myth of a Commission divided between communists and non-communists to the charge of north Vietnamese infiltration (never confirmed) to the helicopter issue to Gauvin's racism, Taylor blithely skims through the record of Canada's pointedly obstructionist and destructive activities on the ICCS. And he ends the chapter on this note: Canadian troops 'had established a new reputation for Canadian peacekeepers . . . While efficiency and expertise were still part of the package, notice had been served that Canadian peacekeepers could also be officious and outspoken, as well as short-tempered and self-righteous.' (p.178)

This is clearly high praise for a group of Canadians who had almost single-handedly been responsible for the aborting of the second chance for peace in Vietnam. Thus, aside from doing nothing to expose Canada's real role on the ICCS, Taylor has helped enormously to perpetuate the standard myths of Canada as an honest, but perhaps misguided, peaceseeker in a troubled world. The only valuable part of his book is the sections where his work was already spelled out for him in the Pentagon Papers. The rest of it perpetuates the very myths he purports to be unveiling.

forward #9 June 1975

Vietnam's giant step

By Alex Roy

To the tumultuous welcome of a jubilant people, the liberation forces of Vietnam and Cambodia have completed the rout of the puppet armies of US imperialism and undertaken the process of national reunification and social revolution. Their final victory was total; as the reactionary forces engaged in a mad scramble to escape an accounting of their crimes to the people, all military discipline crumbled into a savage struggle for survival, as civilians desperately trying to hoist themselves onto aircraft, were shot and kicked off by Thieu's soldiers; as whole regiments and divisions fled without firing a shot, as helicopters commandeered by panic-stricken troops to take them to US ships crashed or were thrown, like berserk dragonflies into the sea, it became abundantly clear why the liberation forces had no need of a bloodbath – which Washington, trying to whip up fresh war hysteria among its people, had claimed would take a million lives. The rotten and bankrupt puppet regime had no social basis of support among the Vietnamese people, and the miserable veterans of its armed forces, eager to ingratiate themselves, pose no threat whatever to the popular government.

The victory in Vietnam has unleashed a dynamic in all of Indochina, with Laos all but formally liberated and Thailand seeking to curry favor with the popular governments. Faced with an insurgent people and without the benefit of genocidal bombing, the isolated reactionary forces can barely survive a huff and a puff, and the liberation of a neighbouring country which the popular forces can use as a base is frequently sufficient to tip the balance.

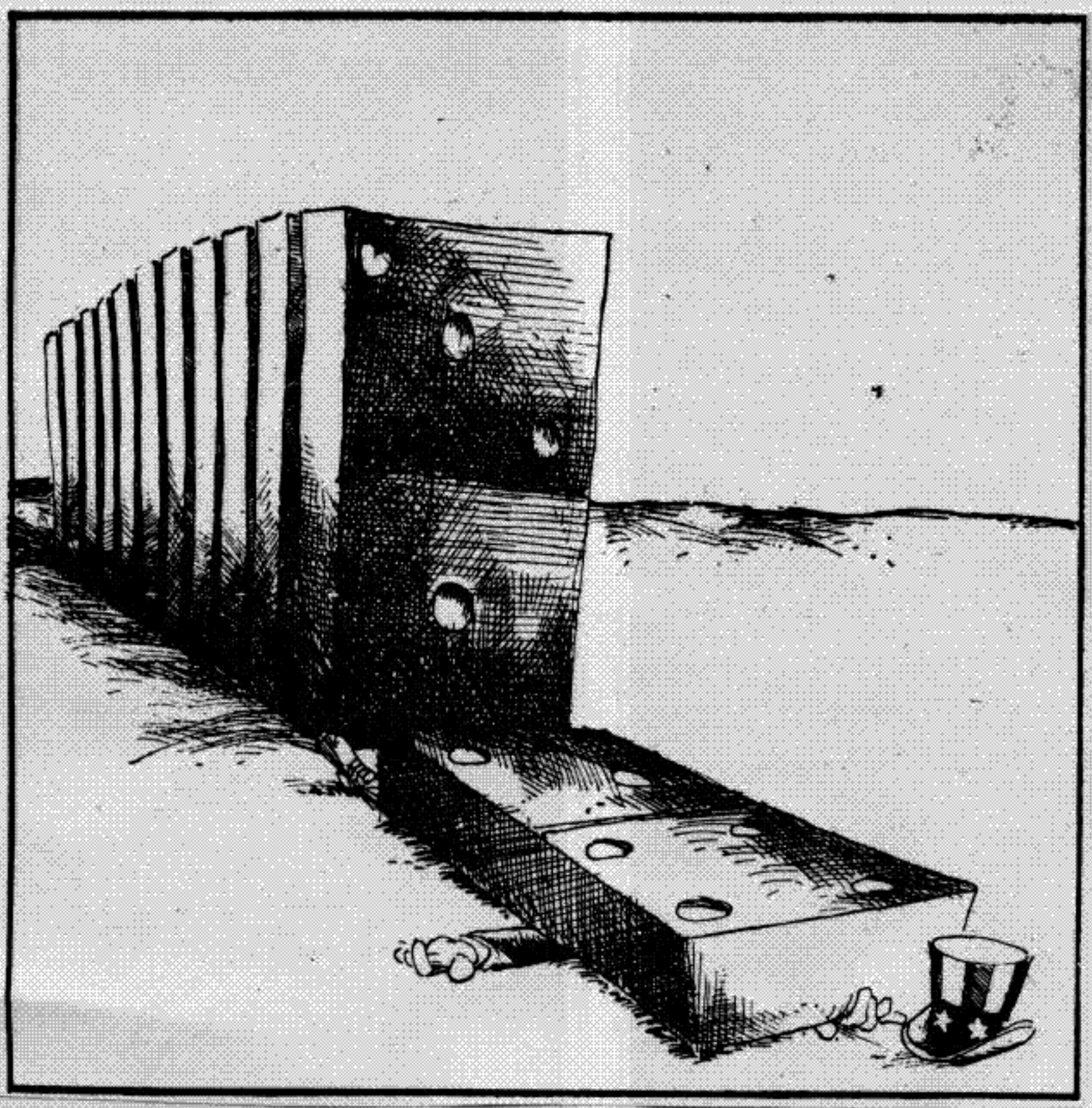
The staggering victory of the peoples of Indochina over US troops, tanks, guns, planes – and Canadian spies, shells, bombs and napalm – has spread panic through the imperialist bloc that American armed force might not be used in the future to repress popular revolutions in the colonial world. The original aim of American intervention in Vietnam was of course to prevent just such a panic. Discussing this general crisis of confidence, following the liberation of Saigon, Trudeau all but declared his complete identification with US imperialist aggression, expressing regret that Congress had not permitted the war to continue, and noting, "in a tone of grim satisfaction, that the Americans aren't about to make the same mistake twice."

The Mayaguez incident only serves to illustrate the desperation of the US in the face of this collapse of confidence in its might. Forced to slink out of Indochina with its tail between its legs, Washington pounced on this opportunity to use its overwhelming military force to accomplish an easy task with a visible and dramatic result. In their pitiful eagerness to engage in breast-beating, the US forces crashed one of their own helicopters, attacked the wrong island, lost several aircraft and 38 lives with at least 80 wounded – all to reccover 39 men and a ship which the Khmer Rouge were about to release in any case. How have the mighty fallen, when the US is reduced to trumpeting this trivial incident in one news release and press conference after another, as a great victory and reaffirmation of its strength!

The damage the war has done to world imperialism goes far beyond the smashing of the US forces in Vietnam. Not only has it stripped the US of every shred of its moral credibility, alienated large sections of its youth, disrupted the cohesion of its armed forces and demonstrated to millions the barbarous nature of the capitalist system – it has bred the soaring US inflation which transmitted itself to Europe and Canada. This has intensified imperialist rivalries and hastened the present world-wide economic recession.

The success of the peoples of Indochina, despite the failure of China and Russia to provide a united front against the US (on the contrary they made deals with the US behind the scenes) demonstrates that detente arrangements made between the conservative bureaucratic regimes and imperialism are no longer sufficient to contain popular struggles.

However the fangs of the US have not yet been drawn. It has been quick to assure uneasy allies that it will hold the line against anti-imperialist movements throughout the world. Cambodia is an example of what it can do in frustration. Portugal and other areas of the Third World where it has profitable interests are areas where they might react with even more horrendous savagery, unless their power is finally stayed.



forward #9 June 1975

Give me your tired and huddled masses, your generals, your privileged classes, your crooks and pimps yearning to breathe free.

Open arms for Vietnam refuse

After the CIA succeeded in "screening" Chilean refugees out of Canada, it "somehow" managed to arrange for the speedy clearance of former South Vietnamese General Dang Van Quang, described by one US state department official as "perhaps the epitome of everything that was wrong in South Viet Nam." This notorious opium pusher and CIA confidant, "party to some of their most sordid and embarassing secrets" had to be kept quiet. He couldn't remain in the US because of the likelihood of protests, so the CIA sent him to Canada where they felt there would be little protest.

Meanwhile, Derek Blackburn (NDP MP-Brant) has publicly revealed that Nelson Bardico, an alleged terrorist bomber and self-confessed CIA agent was given landed immigrant status in Canada a year after he was ordered deported. His work for the CIA in Uruguay makes him an outrageous presence inasmuch as "he is an expert on all left-wing activities in South America, apparently living in an area where there are some 40,000 people from that area.

forward Vol. 2 #9 Nov. 1976

Ottawa aids US military front in South East Asia

By Gord Doctorow

The Canadian government's shameless role as diplomatic agent of US imperialist foreign policy has found a new and important expression in External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen's unreserved endorsation of the recently formed anti-communist Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) comprising Indonesia, Thailand, the Phillipines, Malaysia, and Singapore. In the wake of the toppling of the rotten structures of the US-installed tinpot dictatorships in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, the US state department is in desperate need of a safe cover for its continued military and political presence. Once again it has found a compliant and reliable ally in its Canadian junior partner.

The successful revolutions not only expelled imperialism in much of the Indochina peninsula but also provided a beacon of inspiration for all the masses oppressed by imperialism, especially in ASEAN: the military dictatorship in Indonesia,installed in 1965 in a coup anointed with the bloody corpses of an estimated 500,000 "communists" in that year alone; the unstable corrupt regime in Thailand with its parasitic rulers composed of opium smugglers and aristocratic "generals" exercising authority through an army of internal repression – the last US military base on the Indochina peninsula; the one-man dictatorship in the Phillipines which has created a vast concentration camp, not unlike the former Saigon regime, through martial law backed by generous arms supplies and economic aid from the US; and the neo-colonial military dictatorships in Malaysia and Singapore.

ASEAN is not merely a "loose political and economic grouping" but a diminished archipelago of US military bases to check the "spread of communism" – in other words, to stem the continuation of national revolutions shaking loose imperialism's bloody grasp.

With the same hypocritical doublespeak that the Canadian government employed in covering up US aggression during the Vietnam war, MacEachen justified Canada's identification with ASEAN in the name of supporting democratic institutions and the opportunity for people to determine their own destiny. To make himself perfectly clear, he confessed: "We don't want the US to withdraw from the area. They still have an important role, certainly in the Pacific and probably an even more important role if they get involved in the development program."

While denouncing the supposedly warlike aims of Vietnam, MacEachen extolled the peaceful militarism of the US and cynically stated that Canada would consider the sale of nuclear technology "for peaceful purposes" to the ruthless militarists of Indonesia, thereby posing the greatest threat to world peace and survival.

Canada's stance in South East Asia is just an extension of the government's role as part of the US military network in the North American continent. Whether it is the Defence Production Sharing Agreement which ties Canada economically and politically to its US senior partner, or the NATO/NORAD alliances which commit Canada to colossal expenditures for Lockheed aircraft and tanks in an era of nuclear balance of terror and when inflation is eroding the basis of the economy and robbing workers of their hard-earned wages, the tentacles of the US octopus reach deeply into the totality of Canadian society. Canada's big business government can no more pursue an independent and anti-war foreign policy than it can extricate Canada's economy from its assimilation into the network of US imperialist corporations.

A capitalist and dependent Canada can only play the role of defending reaction against progress and causing the working people and oppressed to pay the price. Canada's and humanity's real future lies in an independent and socialist Canada.

forward Vol. 2 #10 Oct. 1976

The real record
China under Mao

With the development of the monstrous ideology of "Soviet social imperialism", which supposedly represents a greater threat to the world than even US imperialism, Mao justified his own collaboration with pro-US, pro-imperialist forces throughout the world. His welcomes to Nixon, despised commander of the US aggression in Vietnam, took place in the midst of a rain of bombs on the Vietnamese people.

forward #36 May 1979

China-Viet conflagration violates socialist solidarity

by Harry Kopyto

Throughout the world, defenders of the status quo have pointed their fingers at China's recent invasion of Vietnam, and at Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, mockingly concluding that socialism offers no alternative to humanity and that wars are as much a part of socialism as of capitalism.

As the editorial writers of the Kingston **Whig-Standard** wrote in March: "We in the Western World are chuckling... it's a relief to have them at each other's throats for a change." They continue: "This latest conflict is proof again that no ideology can stand up to mindless chauvinism."

Wars between states which proclaim themselves socialist are no cause for chuckling; nor are they "proof" that "no ideology can stand up to mindless chauvinism." On the contrary, these wars confirm the Marxist analysis that Stalinist distortions of workers' revolutions in the Soviet Union, China and Indochina would inevitably result in internal political repression and external violations of socialist internationalism.

The mass upheavals in China and Indochina, which repelled U.S. domination of these areas and overturned capitalist property relations, were unfortunately distorted by the subsequent consolidation of bureaucratic regimes. This process, which blocked the development of socialist democracy, was carried to extremes in Cambodia, where the Pol Pot re-

gime virtually turned that country into a Stalinist slavecamp. These new states have not been based on democratically administered workers' collectives, but on collectively-owned economies administered by nationalist bureaucratic castes, which reflect narrow interests nurtured by cultural backwardness, autarchal practices, and methods of controlling their own populations based on brute force and physical elimination of all opposition. The absence of democratic methods and traditions within these countries has its counterpart in the use of war and invasion outside their borders.

Whereas imperialist countries such as the U.S. do not hesitate to plunder the world in pursuit of a higher rate of profit, even at the peril of a nuclear holocaust, the deformed workers states of Asia use war as an expedient to "teach each other lessons" in pursuit of their goal of political hegemony in the Stalinist tradition of the Kremlin, well exemplified by the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Hungary. They have no economic motives, as do capitalist countries, which wage wars in their drive for new markets and for superprofits.

But waging war against one another does reflect the mentality of these bureaucratic cliques which instinctively gravitate to military means to extend their zones of influence, to impose monolithic control, to undermine the influence of autonomous formations, and to establish an Indochinese federation under their monopolistic control.

Wars carried on by bureaucratic cliques in control of workers' states are as detestable to socialists as the internal repressive measures these cliques impose against dissidents within their borders. In neither case do such measures have anything in common with the traditions or aims of socialism.

Protesters fighting for democracy in China understood the relationship between internal and external repression quite clearly. "Only by ridding themselves of Pol Pot and what he stands for will the Cambodian people be able to also get rid of the Vietnamese," argued one Democracy Wall poster which denounced both Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia and China's invasion of Vietnam.

NDP Antiwar Committee
c/o ONDP
184 Main Street
Toronto, M4E 2W1

March 24, 1983

Dear Fellow New Democrat,

We enclose for your information a notice of an upcoming Metro Toronto conference of the NDP Antiwar Committee, which is a subcommittee of the Metro New Democrats. In basing the theme on BUILDING THE NDP AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, we hope to stimulate discussion, education and organizing activity which will reach down into the individual ridings.

We need assistance in getting the message across. So we are asking you to circulate the notice and to encourage as many New Democrats as you can to come out. The Friday evening forum THE NDP AGAINST THE CRUISE is open to the public and will feature not only a prominent speaker but also a fine improvisation theatre performance which links the struggle of the Third World to the war danger. We feel certain that the forum and concert will provide a valuable and interesting experience for the participants.

The Antiwar Committee is doing its best to supply information, buttons and organization for building the antiwar movement and the party. We do it with money almost entirely generated by voluntary contributions. We have gone into considerable debt to provide this conference; in addition, we would like to be able to contribute some funds to the wider disarmament movement. So we appeal to you at this time to aid us by sending us your financial donation and by encouraging others and your riding associations to do the same. Cheques should be made payable to the NDP Antiwar Committee.

Daycare arrangements will be made available on request. For further information please contact: Gord Doctorow (493-6829) or Laura Pascoe (924-2934) or Kimberley Wilde (961-6085).

In Solidarity,

Gord Doctorow

Gord Doctorow
Chairman, NDP Antiwar Committee

(RD comment: "this will not inspire NDP activist involvement – to whom is this addressed")

NDP Anti-War Newsletter

April 1983

WHY THE NDP SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN THE DISARMAMENT MOVEMENT

By Gord Doctorow,
Chairman, NDP Antiwar Committee

This coming summer will witness millions mobilizing in the Americas, across Europe, from Portugal through France and Germany, right into the East European states, to halt the accelerating deployment of nuclear armed missiles. Hundreds of thousand who have never been involved in any kind of public social action will be demonstrating in the streets. What was minority opinion is becoming majority opinion.

The British Labour Party conference responded to this sentiment last fall by voting, by over a two-thirds majority, in favour of British unilateral nuclear disarmament. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with more than 6 million affiliated through the trade unions, had decided that its central actions will be organized with the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party in August 1983. They will mark the anniversary of the U.S. dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The central slogan will be "Britain Out of NATO--NATO Out of Britain."

The U.S. Government intends to install Cruise Missiles in the network of military emplacements sustained by those states committed to the NATO military alliance. If it succeeds, the nuclear arms drive will gravely imperil the world's prospects for survival. For these installations will mark a large leap in acceptance of readiness to make nuclear war.

What is Canada's role? Prime Minister Trudeau hypocritically calls for "suffocating" the arms race while providing the

[Continued on Page 2]

NDP CAUCUS CHALLENGES GOV'T ON CRUISE TESTING

Continuing secrecy and government confusion about cruise missile and other U.S. weapons tests in Canada are no longer acceptable to Canadians, says New Democrat external affairs critic Pauline Jewett.

"From the Pentagon we have learned that Canada might be the testing ground for new "Stealth" cruise missiles, a further escalation of the nuclear arms race, yet we have still learned nothing from our own government about these secret weapons testing plans," said the New Westmininster-Coquitlam MP.

Jewett criticized Conservatives for their "total and shameful failure to call the government to task on the continuing secrecy about cruise missile and other weapons tests."

Jewett pointed out "Stealth" technology applied to cruise missiles would make those weapons even more of a threat to verification abilities and future arms control agreements.

She said Canada's ambassador to the United States, who will sign the secret agreement on behalf of this country, was in Ottawa recently and asked the External Affairs minister to make public his plans for tabling that agreement in the House of Commons.

(RD. ↑ "this should be up front")

EDITORS:
Kimberley Wilde
Don Brant
Art Jasczyk

Contributions and letters are most welcome. Send to:
THE EDITOR, NDP Anti-War Committee,
c/o 184 Main Street, Toronto, Ont. M4E 2W1.

[*Continued from Page 1*]

NDP AND DISARMAMENT

site for the testing and perfection of the Cruise Missile on Canadian soil. His government justifies this on the basis of its commitment to NATO thus tightening Canada's integration into the U.S. military alliance.

The growing concern and opposition to the nuclear arms drive among Canadians in every walk of life was revealed in last fall's Municipal Referenda calling upon the Canadian government to pursue disarmament. The polls showed 70% to 80% in favour across the country. Since then, a poll of the general population has registered 52% as being opposed to the testing of the Cruise Missile here. NDP MPs, especially Pauline Jewett and Dan Heap, as well as party leaders Ed Broadbent and Bob Rae, have been outspoken in and out of parliament in their opposition to the Cruise testing.

Our party is the Canadian antiwar party by virtue of the fact that it is based on the organizations and support of working people and society's dispossessed. Since the drive for profit at all costs is alien to us, we have no stake in supporting the arms drive. At the same time, our party has held a formal policy of opposition to NATO, NORAD and the Defence Production Sharing Agreements for some time. At the last Federal Convention, we adopted the principle of making Canada a nuclear-weapons-free zone along with re-affirming our previous policy. Our parliamentary spokespersons have often proclaimed the priority need to maintain social services and peacetime jobs.

Yet the public opinion polls indicate, despite the recession and popular antiwar sentiment, that only 21% to 22% of Canadians across the country would support the NDP in a federal election. Sixty-one percent do not identify with the Party.

What has been lacking, and is vitally necessary, is for the Party to actively mobilize around these policies among the growing number of antiwar Canadians. By doing so we can educate the Canadian people that their interest lie with the NDP and in opposition to the pro-military policies of the Tory and Liberal Parties.

As a contribution to winning a new hearing for the Party, the NDP Antiwar Committee was founded in Metro Toronto last August. Since that time, we have organized a disarmament float in the Labour Day parage, an antiwar forum of some 350 people during last October's Disarmament Week, and a contingent of NDPers to the October 30 anti-Cruise protest in Ottawa. We have circulated our policy statements to disarmament rallies and produced a button and banner proclaiming the NDP as the antiwar party. Many New Democrates, active in disarmament issues, have gladly worn these buttons and mobilized behind the party banner.

There is much more to be done and a great deal of promise for the Party. But it requires a lot more organization and involvement at the riding level. The Antiwar Committee is striving to meet this challenge by hosting two important events. We will be providing an antiwar evening featuring music, guerilla theater and a party afterwards on Saturday March 12 at the International Student Centre, University of Toronto. On April 8 and 9, we will be holding a metro-wide organizing conference for all ridings to hear prominent Party spokespersons and to discuss how to get involved at the local level. Also, we have endorsed the March 5 International Women's Day demonstration, which has a disarmament theme, and the April 23 Day of Protest against the Cruise which will take place as a cross-country series of demonstrations.

"The immediate cause of World War III
is the preparation for it"
C. Wright Mills

STATEMENT ON POLICE AND POLITICAL HARRASSMENT OF DISARMAMENT MOVEMENT

This statement was coordinated by Dan Leckie, constituence assistant to Dan Heap, and Gord Doctorow, Chairman of the NDP Anti-War Committee.

The facts surrounding recent police searches and seizures are included, as well as the position of the Antiwar Committee. This paper, in a more detailed form, has been presented to our elected NDP spokespersons in order to provide a basis for intervention and debate. (For original copies, contact the antiwar committee).

THE FACTS:

Since December, police raids have been directed against several groups and individuals who have impeccable records of commitment to non-violent action to promote disarmament.

The basis for the search warrants, signed weeks in advance by a Justice of the Peace (almost two months after the bombing) was initially denied. They were in fact, based on a series of allegations by an unstated source regarding the bombing at Litton on October 14, 1982. This source claimed a connection between "DIRECT ACTION", the self-proclaimed name of the apparent bombers and groups like the Cruise Missile Converstion Project who have routinely been using the rubric "direction action " groups to describe certain non-violent organizing activity.

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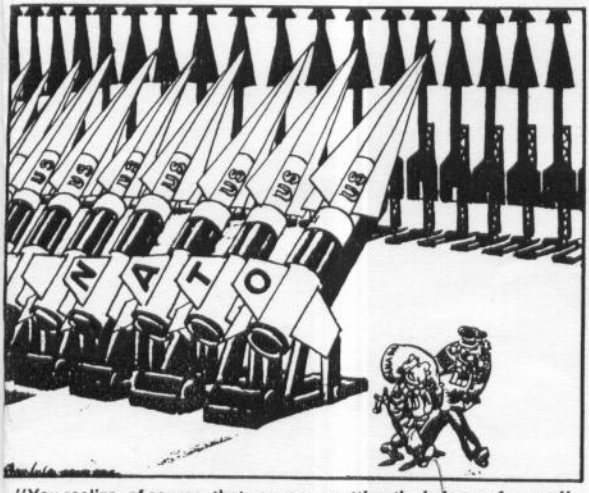


"You realize, of course, that you are upsetting the balance of power"

NDP POLICY - OUT OF NATO/NORAD

The following policy, in abbreviated form, was adopted at the 1981 Federal Convention:

In the interests of peace and security, the NDP would:
-refuse to participate in third party arms trades, and would withdraw from the Defense Production Sharing Agreement;

-strictly control arms exports and actively support the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty:

-support the creation of nuclear weapons-free zones, the SALT process and balance force reductions in Europe;
-support a global referendum on disarmament;
-recognize the need for a review of Canada's defence needs and the Canadian Armed Forces;
-would withdraw from NATO and NORAD;
-seek new forms of cooperation for information gathering and defense assessment.

Canada opting out

STOP THE WAR DRIVE:

BUILD THE NDP

by Harry Paine

It seems hard for us to imagine in this period of high technology and world-wide mass communication that it was only a few short years ago that the war to end all wars was fought and won. Both the First and Second World Wars were recognized as being fundamentally different from all previous wars because all the major powers were involved in them, and the future of human society on this planet seemed to be at stake.

Almost four decades later we are still in the streets demonstrating and trying to bring an end to war. Everyone is against war we are told, it is a "non-partisan issue" and goes beyond the narrow interests of political parties. But is this really so?

It is true that nuclear bombs cannot be aimed at specific classes and kill, regardless of whether one votes Liberal, Tory or NDP, but in whose interests will a war be fought? Is the answer to that question any different today than it was in 1939, 1914 or even 1066?

The excuse for the massive arms build-up, simply put, is to preserve the status quo. In the Soviet Union the government wants to maintain its bureaucratic priviledges and the USA, together with its loyal puppets, Canada, etc. needs the cold war to keep profits up.

Working people no matter where they live have nothing to gain from supporting either side in this conflict. One could argue forever as to which side is the most sincere in its so called disarmament proposals, who has the most missiles, or who intends to "strike first". That doesn't change the fact that it will be the entire planet that goes up in smoke.

We reject the bureaucratic distortion of socialism that exists in the Soviet Union, but that does not automatically put us in the camp of the capitalist world. The existence of the Soviet Union has been used to divide working people. NATO and NORAD alliances were not only designed as a threat to the Soviet Union but also to create an atmosphere of our side and their side. Unfortunately the so-called socialists who rule have played right into the hands of the West by supressing dissent and distorting socialism beyond recognition. Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland being just a few of the crimes they have committed.

Northern Alberta was chosen as the site for testing of the Cruise Missile, supposedly, becuase it is similar terraine to that around Moscow. It seems to me that the premise for that decision is that the Soviet Union is an enemy, with whom we are at war. There is no doubt that

[Continued on Page 5]

[Continued from Page 4]

BUILD THE NDP

capitalism is in an irreconcilable conflict with the socialist form of the Soviet Economy, but then so are we democratic socialists, aren't we? Does that justify the testing of nuclear missiles over terraine similar to Broadview-Greenwood, Spadina or any other area of Canada, that is represented by NDP members?

Capitalism is a dying system. It has only managed to sustain itself this long by invoking the spectre of communism and making the working people pay with their blood and sweat. There will never be any kind of peace as long as capitalism exists. That is just as true now as it was 50 years ago when we first proclaimed it in the Regina Manifesto.

It is no accident that the NDP program stands clearly against war. We have always stood solidly on the side of oppressed peoples everywhere, those who have nothing to gain from bigger and better missiles.

In this historical context disarmament is not a non-partisan issue. Clausewicz was not a fool when he said "war is just politics by another means". We want all peace activists to unite and protest the outrage of the use of Canadian soil for the testing of the Cruise missile. We support the Churches, the Unions, the peace groups and even those few Liberals and Tories who can't stomach the Trudeau kissing of Reagan's feet.

Nevertheless the NDP has the responsibility to make it very clear that peace will never be secure in this country as long as there is a Liberal or Tory Government. Protest Now! But when the next election comes along every single person who is concerned about the nuclear threat must be out on the street knocking on doors, and working to elect an NDP'er to office.

We need lots of help from NDP members. AS we continue to produce mailings, information kits, pamphlets, and buttons, our financial needs grow. Please consider sending financial contributions to the Committee. The NDP Antiwar Committee may be contacted c/o Ontario NDP, 184 Main Street, Toronto, M4E 2W1.

BUTTONS AVAILABLE

Bulk discounts for quantity orders

FROM THE ANTI-WAR COMMITTEE

Statistics on the relationship between military expenditures (as a percentage of GNP) and the annual rate of growth in productivity manufacturing shows that the more a country spends on arms, the less productive its economy is. Of nine developed countries (U.S., U.K., France, West Germany, Sweden, Italy, Denmark, Canada and Japan) Japan had the lowest military expenditures and the best industrial productivity record. The U.S. and U.K. had the highest military expenditures and the worst productivity gains. The Canadian experience is the only exception. Probably because our economy is so closely linked to the American, we have the second lowest military expenditure and the third lowest productivity gain.

"This Magazine"
18/6/82
Mel Watkins

[Continued from Page 3]

POLITICS OF HARRASSMENT

Letters from the "DIRECT ACTION" bombers were sent to The Clarion, the Canadian Urban Training Project (a branch of the United Church), the Canadian Forum, Friends' House (Quakers), the U of T Anti-Nuclear Group, the CMCP, Brenda McKinney and Beth Richards of the Toronto Disarmament Network, the Toronto Star, and the Globe and Mail. People who had handled the letters were pressured into providing fingerprints; Beth and her husband refused. The remaining people were not approached after this.

In court, Crown Attorney Matusiak read excerpts from the diary of Ivan LeCouvie, a protester. The diary had not been entered as evidence. Matusiac argued that it showed a "Russian Connection" to The CMCP because it "revealed" that LeCouvie had attended a conference in Prague and had stopped in Moscow. These allegations were repeated to the press and photocopies of the diary were given to various media representatives. Le Couvie was then arrested for "questioning" on December 7, 1982.

To date, none of the authorities involved have been reprimanded in any way. The government and the police continue to operate with impunity against a bourgeoning and undaunted anti-war movement.

THE VIEWS OF THE ANTIWAR COMMITTEE

We are completely in solidarity with the disarmament movement, both through our party policy and through concerted non-violent protest action. We regard an injury to one as an injury to all. We believe that the police and government harassments are meant to discredit the entire anti-war movement, which these institutions loath because of their committment to the war system. We believe they are on a "fishing expedition" to load public opinion against us through innuendo and smear tactics. We do not consider that there is any legitimate basis for the warrants issued or the raids and seizures from the point of view of obtaining information about the Litton bombing.

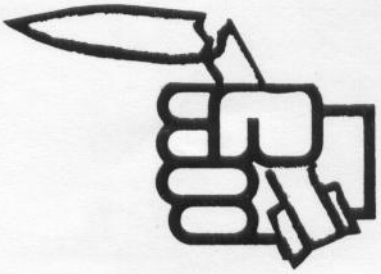
We believe disciplinary action should be taken against Crown Attorney N. Matusiak and the Police. Attorney General Roy McMurtry should be publicly censured for his egregious violation of law and civil rights. We think that because of the prejudicial environment created by Matusiak, all charges against the Litton protestors be dropped. We endorse the January 5, 1983 news release of the Alliance for Non-Violent Action.

HOW ARE PARTY SHOULD RESPOND:

(1) We propose that our elected representatives draw up a statement of action to raise publicly in their parliamentary forums the concerns and issues outlined above.

(2) After ascertaining a common agreement they should draw up an appropriate press statement to be presented at a future joint press conference. We propose that copies be sent to the disarmament groups and that this statement be used as the basis of future responses to continued harassment.

(3) We believe that it is vital and urgent that the NDP not only have the policy and substance of an anti-war Party but that it publicly be seen as such so that it may reach out to an awakening mass constituency.



THERE IS STILL TIME:

A.C.T. DEMONSTRATION APRIL 23

Despite the secretive way in which the federal government handled the signing of the arms-testing agreement, the demonstration held February 12 was a success. Organized by A.C.T. (against Cruise Testing), the demonstration drew a crowd of well over 2,000 people.

The November 9th NDP Provincial Council meeting endorsed the demonstration in a motion presented by a member of our Anti-War Committee. The N.D.P. had a visible and active presence; we carried a banner, sold buttons and distributed literature.

Burt Keser and the A.C.T. marshalls ably guided both the peace officers and the demonstrators along their respective paths to the American Embassy and City Hall. Songs and spiritual uplifting were provided by the Red Berets, a feminist singing group and Larry Bruner and friend.

It is vitally important to remember that this agreement is simply an umbrella agreement. Testing of the cruise missile has yet to be legalized in Parliament, in spite of what Mr. Mac Eachen says. We still have time to prevent this outrage from happening. The majority of Canadians are against the testing of the cruise missile; it is time to act now.

With this in mind, another demonstration is being scheduled for April 23, 1983, 1:00 p.m. at Queens' Park. As NDP-er's we have an important role to play at this demonstration.

For Further information:

AGAINST CRUISE TESTING COALITION:
469-4171

NDP ANTI-WAR COMMITTEE:
Gord Doctorow 493-6829
Laura Pascoe 961-6085
Kimberly Wilde 466-1307

I'M SURE THE TESTS WILL GO AS PLANNED, PROVIDING WE CAN HANDLE THE PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS.
3RD BUTTON TO THE LEFT...
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

"Protest is the only realistic form of civil defence. We must protest if we are to survive."

E.P. Thompson

Arms Spending Destroys Jobs

$1 Billion of spending on:

The military =	76,000 jobs
Construction =	100,000
Health Services =	139,000 jobs
Education =	187,000 jobs
Tax Cuts to Consumers =	112,000 jobs

UAW OF CANADA

World Military expenditures equals the annual income of the poorest half of the world's population (2 billion People)

NDP LEADERS SPEAK OUT

The nuclear disarmament issue is being raised by prominent NDPers every day:

- Tommy Douglas spoke extensively on this subject at his talk on the economy at the Woodsworth Forum.

-Ed Broadbent made nuclear disarmament the centre piece of this speech at the December Provincial Council Meeting, and has raised the question in the House.

-NDP MP Pauline jewett has denounced the failure of the federal cabinet to publish an order-in-council, signed after its recent adjournment of the House of Commons, which instructed its ambassador in Washington to sign the framework of an agreement allowing the U.S. to test the missiles here. This flouting of the law was explained by Eternal Affairs Minister MacEachen as due to a technicality. Jewett denounced it. "They don't want the public to know what's going on," she charged.

-Doug Anguish, MP for The Battlefords-Meadow Lake riding, spoke at a rally in Ottawa:

"By allowing tests for brand-new nuclear weapons systems, especially attack-oriented ones like the Cruise, Canada risks its credibility as a voice for world peace".

-Ed Broadbent voices the beliefs of the NDP Antiwar Committee when he states that "the NDP alone presents an alternative to the threat to international peace that is at once humane, just and reasonable." (from Ottawa Report, December 3, 1982).

GLOBAL ARMS BUDGET:

$550 Billion Annually
or
$103 Million Per Minute

Approximately $100 Billion is for Nuclear Weapons

"This Magazine" 18/6/82

CANDIS — DISARMAMENT INFORMATION NETWORK

CANDIS is an acronym for "Canadian Disarmament Information Service" a new organization devoted to spreading the word about peacemaking efforts throughout Canada, but particularly the Toronto area.

We are located in the Peace Chapel upstairs at the Church of the Holy Trinity, which is located between the Eaton Centre and the new city hall. It is our intention to maintain accurate files and to answer all queries concerning the activities of groups devoted to Disarmament efforts.

In addition, we keep a clipping service, subscribe to several newsletters and journals on the anti-nuclear weapons issue, collect brochures and papers, and in various ways try to provide information services. We have a few films and vedeo-tapes, will sell a few books, and will keep a browsing library.

Phone us by the 21st of each month to tell us about your plans for the next month. If the plans are directly related to the arms race and the peace movement, we will publicize it on our calendar of events.

The CANDIS office is normally open from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on weekdays and irregularly at other times.

CANDIS has a phone number that can be remembered easilty--585CALL, which is 585-2255.

Donations and volunteers are most welcome.

THE CRUISE MISSILE

NDP ANTIWAR NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1, No. 2 July, 1983

Canada's complicity

Cruise test trade-offs

by the Editors

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The NDP parliamentary caucus through relentless questioning has forced Defence Minister Lamontagne to admit that low-angle radar testing for the Cruise was already underway on the Alberta site. Ottawa had secretly signed the necessary agreement in 1979 when Litton Industries in Canada had already won a U.S. contract to manufacture the guidance system.

Lamontagne has chastised NDP defence critic Terry Sargeant for being "obsessed" with the Cruise missile. But it is precisely this obsession developing in the Canadian public, to which the NDP has given political expression, that has led to the tremendous growth of the anti-war movement.

Trudeau's stance—that we must live up to our NATO commitments and support the Cruise in order to deter the Soviets from using their weapons—represents a major turnaround from his earlier strategy of "suffocation" of the arms race. Bending to the U.S. government's pressure, the Prime Minister has decided to carry the burden of diplomatic support of Reagan's perilous strategy of nuclear deployment in Europe.

By presenting the Cruise testing as an obligation of Canadian membership in the NATO-NORAD alliance, Trudeau has attempted to enlist cold war rhetoric to put the antiwar movement on the defensive. These agreements have bound Canadian business interests to the militarization of the economy. While social services and employment have been cut back, Canada's annual military budget has shot up to $8.25 billion.

In order to allay the fears of the growing popular movements for disarmament, Trudeau has on the one hand offered some criticism of Reagan's confrontationist line on the Soviet Union. On the other hand, his Williamsburg declaration of "bust(ing) our bloody asses for peace" has the aim of overcoming the widening perception that it is the Thatcher's and Reagan's who are threatening the world with nuclear destruction.

Ironically, Canada is jumping onto the arms race bandwagon just as other countries (Greece, Norway, Belgium, Denmark), influenced by massive peace movements are preparing to jump off. (Just recently 100,000 Spaniards marched through Madrid demanding of its newly elected Socialist government an immediate referendum on their country's withdrawal from NATO and the removal of U.S. military bases from Spanish soil.)

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The entire federal caucus has unanimously and persistently fought against the proposed Cruise testing both inside and outside of Parliament, whilst pressing for a debate on the issue in Parliament. On June 14, Ed Broadbent presented the following motion in the House of Commons: "that this House express its opposition to the escalation of the nuclear arms race by any nation and in particular its opposition to Canada's participation by testing in Canada any nuclear weapon or nuclear weapon deliverv vehicle such as, and including, the Cruise

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Military production an economic trap

From: *Ploughshares Monitor, IV: 4. March 1983*

When the Federal Cabinet finally sits down to face the decision of whether or not to permit U.N. testing of the cruise missile in Canadian territory, the debate is unlikely to linger very long on the lofty questions of war and peace, but will quickly come to focus on the basics—how much can we afford to bite the hand that feeds us?

A prominent response to calls for refusal to permit ruise testing in Canada, and one raised in the meeting between Canadian church leaders and the Prime Minister, is to hint darkly about the unspeakable economic acts the United States might commit on Canada in return. In fact, it is not an idle hint. In the Canada/United States Defence Production Sharing Arrangements (DPSA) the U.S. has the perfect tool for carrying out economic reprisals.

The DPSA as noted elsewhere in this issue, permit Canadian firms equal access to the U.S. military market with American firms. A substantial Canadian industry has grown up around this market; however, there are two note worthy features to this arrangement—1) there is essentially no alternative market (in Canada or overseas) for the components the Canadian military industry produces; and 2) the U.S. market for those parts had been expanding rapidly.

The Canadian defence industry sells about two-thirds of its total production to the United States. And, given that the bulk of these sales are of parts built to U.S. Department of Defence specifications, if that market were to dry up there would be major repercussions in the Canadian aerospace and electronics industries (the main concentration of military production in Canada). Workers would be laid off, plants would be closed and Canadian engineers and scientists would leave in droves for the United States—not a happy circumstance for any government to contemplate.

At the moment, however, given the Reagan arms boom, the trend is in the opposite direction. As is also noted elsewhere in this issue, during the past two decades Canadian military sales to the United States have fluctuated within the range of $200 to $400 million annually. But that is all changed now. Sales to the U.S have increased dramatically in recent years to the current level of an estimated $1 billion per year.

Members of the U.S. Congress, understandably, in a period of rising employment and deteriorating balance of payments, view U.S. military imports from Canada as the export of production and employment to Canada—production and employment they would be happy to see relocated to their States and Congressional districts. The U.S. Administration, on the other hand, defends these military imports from Canada on the grounds that they contribute to the integration of North American defence equipment and, ultimately, defence policy. It is part of the price, say the White House and the Pentagon, of solidifying the continental alliance.

In the past couple of years, in fact, U.S. Administration officials have lobbied vigorously in Congress on behalf of Canada to prevent the passage of bills that would have restricted Canadian industrial access to the U.S. military market.

Last fall, U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger intervened directly to forestall passage of a bill that would have placed restrictions on U.S. purchases of specialty metals from foreign sources—a measure that would have disqualified millions of dollars worth of Canadian military sales to the U.S.

The implications of this have not gone unnoticed in Ottawa. If Canada proves to be uncooperative in defence relations—say, by refusing to test the cruise missile—is Caspar Weinberger going to be interested in running interference on

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Ed Broadbent

OPEN LETTER TO CANADIANS

[A complete version of this letter is available at the Office of the Leader, NDP, House of Commons, Ottawa]

In his open letter to Canadians on the subject of testing the cruise missile in Canada, Prime Minister Trudeau reveals that he has chosen the path of further escalation of the nuclear arms race over that of deescalation.

The Prime Minister argues that the United States must prepare to deploy new missiles in Europe to counter the existing Soviet SS20 missiles. His argument is that only American deployment of new missiles will force the Soviets to back down and remove the offending missiles.

It is a familiar argument because we have been hearing it since nuclear weapons first cast their shadow over the future of mankind in the 1940s. Since that time, both superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have gone step by reciprocal step down the path of nuclear escalation. The air launched cruise missile is one more step down that perilous path—a deadly weapon because it is almost undetectable and therefore a barrier to verifiable bilateral arms reduction once it is in place.

Quite apart from the "balance of terror" which already exists without the cruise, I was alarmed by the Prime Minister's discussion, emphasized in the House of Commons on Tuesday, of a limited nuclear war. To talk of discrete military theatres such as Western Europe as though a nuclear war could be fought there in isolation is a dangerous delusion.

No less an authority than Henry Kissinger denies the feasibility of a controlled nuclear exchange. For Canadians to allow the cruise missile to be tested in this country is to sanction a step toward accepting the idea of a "limited" nuclear war, which in itself can be a major step towards the nuclear holocaust.

The vicious circle of nuclear escalation must be reversed. In a world in which each nuclear superpower has an absolute capacity to destroy the other, halting escalation is the only sane option. The U.S. Congress recognized this recently when it endorsed the idea of negotiating a nuclear freeze with the Soviet Union. Canada should support this initiative—and as a concrete illustration of our commitment, refuse to test the cruise.

Finally, a word about the alleged "anti-American" motivation which the Prime Minister attributes to those involved in the anti-nuclear movement. It has been clear to all those who wanted to see the evidence that what motivates the vast majority involved in this global movement is opposition to the nuclear weaponry of both of the superpowers. It is a movement for disarmament—not anti-American or anti-Soviet.

To suggest Canadians involved in demonstrating against the cruise are "anti-American" is an insult to the many Canadians who are opposed to cruise testing in Canada. Would the Prime Minister also so characterize 278 congressional representatives who voted in favour of a mutual; verifiable freeze particularly with regard to new destabilizing weapons as anti-American? Are the Canadian and American Catholic bishops anti-American?

Canada can take an important step by refusing to allow the cruise missile to be tested over our territory. Such a single step will not end nuclear escalation. But it is a step in the right direction, a step which does not reduce our security. Together with steps that can be taken in other countries, mankind can still reverse the terrible course we have been following. All our efforts must be directed at forcing both the Soviet Union and the United States to stop the deployment of further nuclear weapons systems now.

Edward Broadbent

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Military Production

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missile."

One Liberal and several Tories supported the motion. Several Liberals abstained. The motion was lost 213 to 34.

Last March, Doug Anguish (NDP MP, Battlefords-Meadowlake) introduced a private members bill in the House of Commons to declare Canada a nuclear weapons free zone. In Ontario, Richard Johnston has mobilized a campaign around his resolution to make Ontario a nuclear weapons free zone.

As Reagan, Trudeau and NATO firm up their decision to deploy 572 U.S. Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in five west European countries before the year's end, the NDP and the antiwar movement are challenged to mobilize the biggest mass demonstrations ever. The campaign against the Cruise testing in Canada must be thrust to the centre during the early August commemorations of Hiroshima Day and the slated October 22 cross-Canada demonstrations.

It is up to rank and file New Democrats in every part of the country to build upon the initiatives of our members of Parliament to make our pro-disarmament positions known and support movements for peace. That is the way to build the NDP as the antiwar party of Canada.

Attention antiwar activists! The Against Cruise Testing coalition, in association with disarmament groups all across the country, have announced that demonstrations will be held on the Saturday following the government's decision to sign the U.S. Cruise testing agreement. The time to prepare is now!

NDP ANTI WAR COMMITTEE
Subcommittee of Metro New Democrats
Newsletter Editor: Kimberley Wilde
Chairperson: Gord Doctorow
Secretary: Don Brandt/ Vi Thompson
Treasurer: Muni Taub
Members at Large: Harry Paine, Laura Pascoe, Joanne Kirzner, Cheryl Sweiger, Christopher Ross, Diana Postlethwaite

Any article from the NDP Antiwar Newsletter may be reprinted without fee as long as the Newsletter is acknowledged.

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POLICY STATEMENT OF THE NDP ANTI WAR COMMITTEE

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An estimated 100 million people are engaged in military activities either as soldiers or civilians producing weapons and related services. Since 1960, all of the increase in armed forces numbers has taken place in the underdeveloped countries, which now account for more than 60 per cent of the world's total manpower under arms. Armament imports by these, the poorest countries have increased 17-fold accounting for about three-quarters of the world's arms trade.

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The staggering prospect of nuclear war, however, has led to mass demonstrations against the arms race all over Europe and North America. NATO countries like Norway, Belgium, Denmark, and Holland are refusing to deploy nuclear weapons despite U.S. pressure. The Socialist government of Greece is threatening to pull out of NATO and the Socialist government of Spain is unwilling to commit itself militarily to NATO. These events point to a rising tide of anti-militarist consciousness.

While the European countries, situated in the nuclear theatre, are pulling back from nuclear weapons deployment, Canada is making a qualitative leap into the U.S. nuclear camp. With its clear support for testing the U.S. Cruise missile in Alberta, Prime Minister Trudeau's Liberal government, seconded by the Conservatives, are thrusting Canada into the arms drive at the decisive moment of mass opposition. For the first time, Canada will be committed in the name of NATO to a direct involvement in the arms drive. Despite NATO's pretences to a policy of negotiated disarmament, these actions testify to a policy of war preparations.

By contrast, our parliamentary caucus has closed ranks to consistently resist the government's duplicity. Through Foreign Affairs critic Pauline Jewett's expose of the secret deals negotiated with the U.S. government to turn Canada into its nuclear arms testing area, the NDP was able to rouse public opposition and to open dissension within the ranks of the Liberals and Tories. On the 50th anniversary of the founding of the CCF, the NDP can rightfully harken back to its antiwar roots as expressed in the Regina Manifesto. An echo of this appears in Ed Broadbent's open letter of reply to Trudeau on the issue of the Cruise testing, not to mention the numerous speeches made by other NDP MP's in the House and at disarmament rallies.

There are new possibilities before the party to win new adherents to its ideas on an important issue. We are being challenged as leaders to mobilize the party ranks, to make our demands known, and to build the antiwar movement. It is such considerations which have led to the formation of the NDP Antiwar Committee.

The NDP Antiwar Committee (a subcommittee of the Metro New Democrats in Metro Toronto), basing itself on party policy, presents the following statement of principles and objectives.

1. END CANADA'S COMPLICITY WITH THE WAR DRIVE. We stand for an independent foreign policy. In line with the policy adopted at the 1980 federal convention, we call for Canada's withdrawal from the U.S. military alliances, NATO and NORAD. We advocate that Canada become a nuclear weapon free zone in terms of production of components or systems, testing and transportation of nuclear weapons. Against the absurd race for increased nuclear overkill, we oppose the Cruise missile testing on Canadian soil, the central issue before the disarmament movement today.
2. NDP AS THE ANTIWAR PARTY. In the tradition of its founders, the NDP draws upon the antiwar attitude of the Regina Manifesto. We stand opposed to the war system, which is an instrument of corporate profit. As the antiwar party of Canada, we propose the socialist alternative of production for use and human need. Through our policy and our party status, we aim to provide political leadership to the disarmament movement. We identify with the growing antiwar movement in Canada by joining actively in its campaigns and demonstrations. In parliament, we act as tribunes of the antiwar movement by translating policy into legislative proposals. As a party, we defend antiwar dissidents who suffer harassment from governmental and police authorities over completely legitimate and nonviolent protest.
3. SOLIDARITY WITH THE ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE. As part of its commitment to opposing the war system, the NDP aligns itself with the Socialist International in support of the liberation fighters in the Third World. In the spirit of socialist solidarity, we further our antiwar aims not by declarations of mere pacifism but of support to necessary struggles for social reform, freedom, and social justice against the system of cruel exploitation by world corporate power.
4. JOBS NOT BOMBS. As the labor party of Canada, the NDP represents the interests of working people and the labor movement. Therefore, we advocate that war production (which by its nature is destructive, inflationary and capital intensive) be converted to peacetime production with emphasis on job creation and production to satisfy unmet social needs. This position is in harmony with the positions advocated in the labor movement itself, for example, by the leaderships of the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists.
5. POLITICAL EDUCATION. The Antiwar Committee places a high priority on the promulgating of party policy both within and outside of the party. This entails the holding of public forums, policy conferences, campaigns and publishing and circulating information.
6. MEMBERSHIP. The NDP Antiwar Committee is the property of all party members in good standing in the Metro Toronto area. Our committee aspires to democratically involve party members at all levels of party organization. We also strive to participate with non-party disarmament groups in mutual campaigns where possible and where consistent with party policy.

Cruise trade-offs (economic trap)

continued from page 1

behalf of Canadian military industry interests in Congress?

The lesson from all this is obviously not that we should test the cruise. Instead, the lesson is that we should get busy and rearrange our industrial activity in such a way that we can decide defence policy questions, such as cruise testing, on their own merits and not on the basis of economic threats. Under the present circumstances, the Federal Cabinet cannot avoid making trade-offs between long-term peace and security interests and short-term economic interests (in all likelihood deciding in favour of the latter and arguing publicly that the decision serves the former).

As long as the DPSA remain in force, the United States military establishment will continue sending us offers we can't refuse.

Ernie Regehr

Viewpoint

Whose side are we on?

by Muni Taub

"In a world in which each Nuclear Superpower has an absolute capacity to destroy the other)and much of the rest of mankind) halting escalating is the only sane option" [Ed Broadbent in an open letter to Canadians dated May 12, 1983].

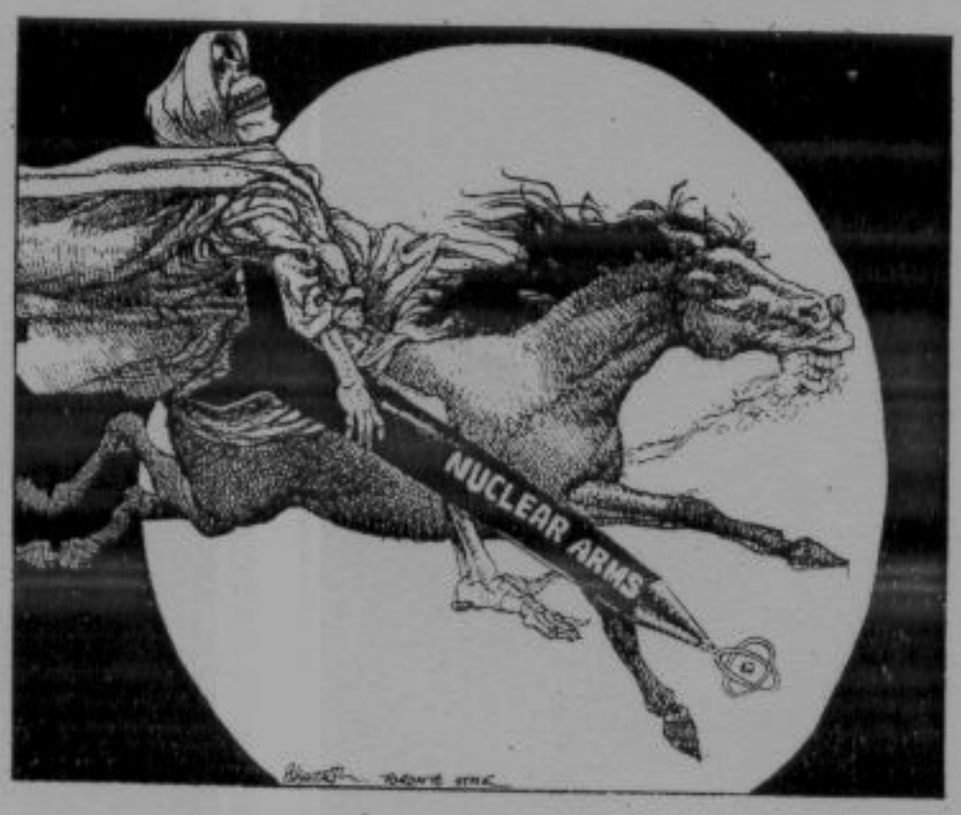
This sane option offered by the N.D.P. is both simple and straightforward. We view the world-wide arms race as the real monster. In this race billions are squandered on what is referred to as defence, instead of being used to satisfy the real needs of people. The anti-war policies elaborated in this newsletter speak for themselves. However, other questions are posed: What about the threat from the other side, from the Soviet Union? What about the arms they have? Does not the N.D.P. help its ideological opponents in the governments of the so-called Socialist countries of the East by helping the Peace Movements in the West?

Clearly these questions are raised mainly by those who have a stake in the arms race. They bring forth a red herring to divert our attention from the very lucrative profits the arms race produces. They, along with their political spokesmen, be they Liberals or Tories, must be exposed and combatted as advocates of war. Yet it is also our duty to address ourselves to these questions raised by the misinformed, as well as clarify our position.

Let us set the record straight:

1. Long before the emergence of the U.S.S.R. and its allies on the world arena, capitalists as a class engaged in the very profitable enterprise of war-making.
2. We hold no brief for the present social system of the Warsaw Pact countries. We condemn interventions in neighboring and foreign lands as destructive of normal relations and pursuit of peace. The sharp ideological differences between the ruling Communist Parties in these countries and the N.D.P. are well established and widely known. However, we categorically oppose war as a means of settling differences. We reject President Reagan's aims of using the instrument of war to change the social system in the Soviet Union and its allies.
3. On the issue of human rights: the absence of genuine socialist democracy; the bureaucratic oppression; the russification of national minorities; overt, racist, antisemitism these can only be best resolved by the actions of the masses of people in the lands involved. Our confrontations with those we sharply disagree with can only be resolved by discussion, persuasion and pressure—never by the force of armed conflict. Coexistence is still the only acceptable alternative.
4. Deterrence to aggresion by either side has been present over a long period of time. The means of "overkill" is available to both camps in the conflict. What is actually at issue now is the insane, useless, mass production of ever more powerful weapons, the cost of which is borne by the peoples of the world, including the people of Canada.
5. The bureaucracies of the Warsaw Pact countries make use of the NATO threats, particularly the build-up of nuclear weapons (Pershing and Cruise Missiles) to mobilize their people behind them as an expression of patriotism. The people of Eastern Europe cannot forget the horrendous devastation caused in their countries by the fascist aggression in the Second World War.
6. It is first and foremost in the interest of the people of Canada that we fight against the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the present arms race. In fighting this insanity we fight for Canada and its people and not for the Soviet Union and its allies. We would, and we do, oppose any individuals whose policies are motivated by their favoring of the U.S.S.R. or its allies.

Our Party is an anti-war party because of our ever-present concern for the welfare of our people, for the welfare of the human race.



NDP disarmament conference report

by Kimberley Wilde

"Building the NDP and the Antiwar Movement" was the theme of the April 8-9 NDP Antiwar Committee Metro Toronto conference. Some 60 people attended the evening forum on April 8 where Spadina MP Dan Heap spoke on peacetime conversion of industry and the necessity to pull Canada out of the NATO military alliance. The Toronto Street Theatre presented a vivid skit that focussed on U.S. imperialist policy in Latin America.

An equal number attended the sessions on April 9. Laura Pascoe, Youth Co-chairperson on the Provincial Executive, introduced Michael Lyons, Executive Secretary of the Metro Labour Council. Lyons condemned the colossal military expenditures and pointed out that several unions have gone on record for conversion of war industry to peacetime jobs.

The workshop following was on the same theme. University of Toronto economics professor Mel Watkings spoke at length on important, research that demonstrates convincingly that the war economy is destroying jobs and pushing up inflation. Later on he was joined on the platform by economist Lukin Robinson.

Kimberley Wilde, the Antiwar Committee newsletter editor, introduced Lynn McDonald, MP Broadview-Greenwood, at the afternoon session. McDonald reported on the party caucus' efforts to press for a full debate on disarmament and the Cruise testing issue in the House.

The workshop which followed was on party policy. Panelists were: Simon Rosenblum (Nickle Belt riding), co-editor of **Canada and the Nuclear Arms Race**, Kay Macpherson, a longstanding party and antiwar activist, Mac Makarchuk, former NDP MP from Brantford, and Gord Doctorow, chairperson of the NDP Antiwar Committee. This workshop emphasized party policy of withdrawal from NATO and NORAD,

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The NDP Antiwar Committee (a subcommittee of the Metro New Democrats in Metro Toronto), basing itself on party policy, presents the following statement of principles and objectives.

1. END CANADA'S COMPLICITY WITH THE WAR DRIVE. We stand for an independent foreign policy. In line with the policy adopted at the 1980 federal convention, we call for Canada's withdrawal from the U.S. military alliances, NATO and NORAD. We advocate that Canada become a nuclear weapon free zone in terms of production of components or systems, testing and transportation of nuclear weapons. Against the absurd race for increased nuclear overkill, we oppose the Cruise missile testing on Canadian soil, the central issue before the disarmament movement today.
2. NDP AS THE ANTIWAR PARTY. In the tradition of its founders, the NDP draws upon the antiwar attitude of the Regina Manifesto. We stand opposed to the **war system**, which is an instrument of corporate profit. As the antiwar party of Canada, we propose the socialist alternative of production for use and human need. Through our policy and our party status, we aim to provide political leadership to the disarmament movement. We identify with the growing antiwar movement in Canada by joining actively in its campaigns and demonstrations. In parliament, we act as tribunes of the antiwar movement by translating policy into legislative proposals. As a party, we defend antiwar dissidents who suffer harassment from governmental and police authorities over completely legitimate and nonviolent protest.
3. SOLIDARITY WITH THE ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE. As part of its commitment to opposing the war system, the NDP aligns itself with the Socialist International in support of the liberation fighters in the Third World. In the spirit of socialist solidarity, we further our antiwar aims not by declarations of mere pacifism but of support to necessary struggles for social reform, freedom, and social justice against the system of cruel exploitation by world corporate power.
4. JOBS NOT BOMBS. As the labor party of Canada, the NDP represents the interests of working people and the labor movement. Therefore, we advocate that war production (which by its nature is destructive, inflationary and capital intensive) be converted to peacetime production with emphasis on job creation and production to satisfy unmet social needs. This position is in harmony with the positions advocated in the labor movement itself, for example, by the leaderships of the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists.
5. POLITICAL EDUCATION. The Antiwar Committee places a high priority on the promulgating of party policy both within and outside of the party. This entails the holding of public forums, policy conferences, campaigns and publishing and circulating information.
6. MEMBERSHIP. The NDP Antiwar Committee is the property of all party members in good standing in the Metro Toronto area. Our committee aspires to democratically involve party members at all levels of party organization. We also strive to participate with non-party disarmament groups in mutual campaigns where possible and where consistent with party policy.

NDP disarmament conference report

by Kimberley Wilde

"Building the NDP and the Antiwar Movement" was the theme of the April 8-9 NDP Antiwar Committee Metro Toronto conference. Some 60 people attended the evening forum on April 8 where Spadina MP Dan Heap spoke on peacetime conversion of industry and the necessity to pull Canada out of the NATO military alliance. The Toronto Street Theatre presented a vivid skit that focussed on U.S. imperialist policy in Latin America.

An equal number attended the sessions on April 9. Laura Pascoe, Youth Co-chairperson on the Provincial Executive, introduced Michael Lyons, Executive Secretary of the Metro Labour Council. Lyons condemned the colossal military expenditures and pointed out that several unions have gone on record for conversion of war industry to peacetime jobs.

The workshop following was on the same theme. University of Toronto economics professor Mel Watkings spoke at length on important research that demonstrates convincingly that the war economy is destroying jobs and pushing up inflation. Later on he was joined on the platform by economist Lukin Robinson.

Kimberley Wilde, the Antiwar Committee newsletter editor, introduced Lynn McDonald, MP Broadview-Greenwood, at the afternoon session. McDonald reported on the party caucus' efforts to press for a full debate on disarmament and the Cruise testing issue in the House.

The workshop which followed was on party policy. Panelists were: Simon Rosenblum (Nickle Belt riding), co-editor of **Canada and the Nuclear Arms Race**, Kay Macpherson, a longstanding party and antiwar activist, Mac Makarchuk, former NDP MP from Brantford, and Gord Doctorow, chairperson of the NDP Antiwar Committee. This workshop emphasized party policy of withdrawal from NATO and NORAD,

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. . . CONFERENCE REPORT

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which would counteract the aggressive U.S. war drive and undercut the Soviet bureaucracy's rationale of patriotic defence used against worker's movements in Eastern Europe. Making links with the disarmament movement and a consideration of Russian fears for nuclear war led to a lively and informative discussion.

Preceding the last workshop—building the antiwar party—Christopher Ross (steering committee, Antiwar Committee) introduced Scarborough West MP Richard Johnston. Johnston praised the Antiwar Committee's work as a way of helping to rebuild the party.

Harry Paine (St. David's riding) led off the panel with an analysis of the development of the antiwar movement since the 60's. He posed the key issue as that of politicizing the various movements and bringing them into the NDP where the question of workers' power is posed. Laura Pascoe spoke on the need for the party to move out, emphasizing the need for the party to regain its feeling as a movement. Art Jaszczyk (York North riding) completed the panel with his recounting of the impressive development of the disarmament movement in his home town of Markham. He contrasted the party's poor showing at the opinion polls to its popular antiwar policies to add weight to the need for a more aggressive public education stance on issues like NATO and NORAD.

As an indicator of the accomplishments of the conference, we can report that we were able to sign up for party membership a number of lapsed party members and attracted some new contacts who were enthused by the party's antiwar work. We circulated hundreds of copies of our first antiwar newsletter, received hundreds of dollars in donations, and arranged a half dozen literature tables from various disarmament groups for the information of conference participants.

NDP Antiwar Committee Buttons Available

BUILD THE ANTIWAR PARTY THE NDP

NATO OUT OF CANADA— CANADA OUT OF NATO

INDIVIDUAL BUTTONS — $1.00 EACH ORDERS OF 20 OR MORE — $.67 EACH

Please send me: _____"BUILD THE NDP...."
_____"NATO OUT OF CANADA..."

Enclosed is a cheque or money order for $ _____.____
Payable to: NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE, c/o: Donald C. MacDonald House, 184 Main St., Toronto, Ontario M4E 2W1

The Reagan boom years:

Military production in Canada

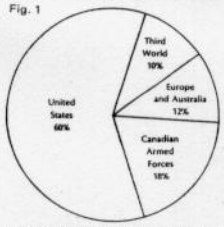
[This article appeared in full in "Ploughshares Monitor," IV/4, March 1983]

by Ernie Regehr

A combination of the Reagan arms boom and Canadian government assistance has created a new boom for military production in Canada (the last boom having taken place during the Vietnam war). About four-fifths of Canadian military production is for the export market (Fig. 1), and those exports have more than doubled in recent years (Table 1). Sales to the United States, which account for about three-fifths of total Canadian military production, have gone from $267 million in 1978 to an estimated $1 billion in 1982. About one-half of non-U.S. exports go to the Third World, meaning current sales of about $150 million per year.

Military sales to the United States take place under the Canada/U.S. Defence Production Sharing Arrangements and the Defence Development Sharing Arrangements (DPSA/DDSA). Under the DPSA, (begun in 1959), Canadian industry is given equal opportunity to compete with U.S. industry for U.S. defence contracts. **The United States undertakes the design, development and production of major weapons systems, while Canada concentrates on the development and production of certain components for these systems.** The Canadian Armed Forces then buy the U.S.-built weapons systems "off-the-shelf", and a 1963 adjustment to the DPSA provides that a "rough balance" be maintained in this Canada/U.S. military trade. In other words, the more Canada buys from the U.S., the more it is likely to sell. Or, to put it another way, in order to continue selling to the United States, Canada must continue buying from the U.S.

Destination of Military Production in Canada
Fig. 1



Sales to the United States increased over the previous year by 35 per cent in 1979, again by 35 per cent in 1980, and by 75 per cent in 1981. However, given the "rough balance" provision of the DPSA, it is worth noting that these high levels of sales to the United States follow major Canadian purchases in the United States. Current Canadian imports from the United States are about $1 billion per year.

Table 1
Canadian Military Exports (current millions of dollars)

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982*
United States	267.0	367.7	481.7	826.6	724.2
Non-U.S.**	217.5	200.6	240.0	324.2	342.8
	484.5	568.3	721.7	1,150.8	1,067.0

*1st 9 months (Jan.-Sept.)
**About 50% NATO (non-U.S.) and 50% non-NATO

Source: Dept. Industry, Trade and Commerce, Canada

Subsidizing military production

The current boom in military production has not occurred without the helping hand of government.

An important marketing tool is the Canadian Commercial Corporation (CCC). The CCC is a crown corporation that serves as the go-between in deals between Canadian industry and foreign governments. It lends the Canadian government's name and backing to such deals, essentially buying the commodity in question from the Canadian firm and then reselling it to the foreign buyer. About 75 per cent of CCC business is defence-related. In 1982 the CCC arranged military sales of about $415 million.

Additional marketing services are provided by the Defence Programs Branch. In September of 1982 the Financial Post reported that "Canadian officials are now turning their attention to the task of steering Canadian firms into the mainstream of the multibillion-dollar U.S. defence industry." Part of this process has been to arrange a series of defence industry seminars in Canadian cities. These conferences bring together representatives of Canadian industry with U.S. Department of Defence procurement officials, Canadian trade commissioners and representatives of various Canadian assistance programs, including the Canadian Commercial Corporation, the Export Development Corporation, and the Defence Industry Productivity Program.

The Defence Industry Productivity Program (DIPP) was initiated in 1959 and provides grants "to develop and sustain the technological capability of Canadian defence industry for the purpose of defence export sales or civil export sales from that capability." Funding for that program has also increased sharply in recent years (as Table 3 shows). DIPP funding is available to cover a portion of the pre-production costs (e.g. the costs of retooling, including the import of machine tools from the United States) and for up to 75 per cent of the development costs.

In the latter case, perhaps the true generosity of the Federal government was made clear in a memo from the U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defence, Frank Carlucci, to officials of his department. Pointing out that under the DPSA/DDSA Canadian military producers "are an integral part of the North American industrial mobilization base," Mr. Carlucci told his officials that **"In DDSA projects, the Canadian Government also** funds up to 75 per cent of the development costs. This cost sharing arrangement could save the U.S. Government millions of dollars annually."

Data from the research and product development undertaken with DDSA funding is shared between Canada and the United States, and subsequent sales of the product to a third country must have the concurrence of both Canada and the United States.

Clearly, through a combination of direct grants and promotion, the Canadian Government has made a strong commitment to increase military production for export in Canada and to try to increase its share of the action in the Reagan arms boom.

Government guidelines for military exports

Under the Export and Import Permit Act, a permit is required for the export of military commodities to all destinations except the United States. Permits are provided on the basis of four general guidelines, listed in an External Affairs July 6, 1982 "notice to exporters." In general, military commodities may not be exported to: 1) countries considered as representing a military threat to Canada; 2) countries involved in hostilities or where there is an imminent threat of hostilities; 3) countries to which UN resolutions forbid the export of arms; or, 4) regimes considered to be wholly repugnant to Canadian values and especially where such equipment could be used against civilians.

As some of the following examples of Canadian military exports demonstrate, phrases such as "military threats to Canada," "imminent threat of hostilities", and "used against civilians" are subject to varying interpretations.

The Canadian military export industry

Since 1959 Canada has exported $8.7 billion worth of military commodities, of which 48.3 per cent was aerospace equipment and components, 31.3 per cent was electrical and electronics equipment and components, 9.3 per cent was armaments, 6 per cent was marine equipment and components and 5.1 per cent was mechanical transport equipment and components. While none of these five industry sectors is primarily dependent upon military production for its survival, the aerospace and electronics industries each have a significant military component. In 1981 the Air Industries Association of Canada (AICA), whose membership includes aerospace and electronics firms, estimated that 19 per cent of its manufacturing sales were military-related. Two decades earlier, during the time of major Canadian military purchase in the United States, followed by Canadian Vietnam-related exports to the U.S, the same industries were closer to 75 per cent dependent upon military sales. Since then the proportion has steadily declined, but now there are indications that the trend is being reversed. Civilian aerospace markets are shrinking while military markets are expanding rapidly. In the United States the aerospace industry is moving from being 35 per cent military dependent in 1979 to 40 per cent in 1982 and an estimated 46 per cent in 1987. **The electronics industry is moving from a military dependence of 45 per cent in 1979 to 58 per cent in 1982 to 63 per cent in 1987.** Canadian aerospace and electronics production is also moving towards a greater dependence upon military sales.

Table 3
Defence Industry Productivity (DIP) Program-Federal grants to Canadian Defence Industry

1977-78	$43,209,638
1978-79	$52,200,000
1979-80	$57,936,115
1980-81	$94,931,422
1981-82	$154,934,982

Source: Public Accounts of Canada

pects as generally good.

One of the countries that is interested and is being courted by government and company officials is Indonesia. Anyone familiar with Indonesia's illegal takeover of the Island of East Timor and its intermittent military operations to suppress local opposition groups there may be entitled to wonder how such a sale would comply with the government guidelines which prohibit sales to countries involved in "hostilities or where there is an imminent threat of hostilities" or to countries in which the equipment could be used against civilians.

The company expects to spend about $50 million to modify production and administration facilities for the U.S. contract, of which the federal government has to date contributed about $26 million in the form of grants and repayable loans, and the return benefits to the Canadian economy are less than impressive.

The contract for $625 million is described by company officials as having a 70 percent American and 30 percent Canadian content. The Canadian content includes materials and subcomponents purchased in Canada, any non-U.S. overseas content (said to be minimal) and Canadian labour. This means that of materials, about 80 per cent are to be imported from the United States (including engines, transmissions, gun turrets and other major elements). Steel is to be supplied through Canadian Heat Treaters Steel Company (CHT), but the company acknowledges that CHT is committed to accepting the lowest bid for the supply of that steel, which may end up being a non-Canadian source.

Because of 70 percent U.S. con-

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Vadillo, el Sol de Mexico

GM of Canada Supplying the Rapid Deployment Force

A $625 million contract to supply the United States Rapid Deployment Force with 969 light armoured vehicles (LAV) is a major Canadian entry into the Reagan arms boom. The LAV are to be built at a General Motors of Canada plant at London, Ontario under license from the Swiss company, MOWAG, the designers of the vehicles. The deal includes options for another 560 vehicles, which could bring the total contract price to $1.3 billion.

GM entered into production of the LAV to supply almost 500 vehicles for the Canadian Armed Forces and, having converted the London plant for long-term production, the company, with the aid of the federal government, immediately began looking for export orders. Third world sales are now being sought, with a company official describing the pros-

Labor endorses disarmament

by Gord Doctorow

Like the NDP the labor movement has come out four-square behind nuclear disarmament. According to an article, Labour & Disarmament, in the Cruise Missile Conversion Project newsletter Jobs With Peace (Vol. 1, No. 1), "trade unionists made up a good portion of the march" at the April 23 demonstration Against Cruise Testing in Toronto. Marching with their own banners and signs, the following unions were represented: "UAW, USWA, CUPE, PSAC, OPSEU, UE, CUEW, OPEIU local 323 and CBRT & GW local 351."

UAW's Canadian Director Bob White spoke at the rally and later "passed a motion at its last Canadian Council meeting calling on the UAW to support and participate in the ongoing anti-Cruise missile campaign. There are plans to set up a disarmament committee to educate UAW members about the necessity for disarmament and to mobilize workers for the peace rally planned for October."

An indication of labor's growing commitment is the Ont. Provincial Service Employees Union's donation of $500 to the Against Cruise Testing coalition. The CLC has officially endorsed the Peace Caravan's anti-Cruise campaign.

These actions follow the spirit of the many resolutions and policy statements that have emerged from the official labor movement in the last few years. Following is a sample of resolutions that were adopted as policy.

• Metro Toronto Labour Council, Sept. 1982. In opposition to President Reagan's "'limited' nuclear war plan and five year—$1.6 trillion military budget" and the U.S. Government's announcement of its intention "to 'win' a protracted nuclear war", the International Affairs Committee of Labour Council went on record as "favouring a vote for disarmament" in the municipal referenda. The Committee urged that "all Labour Council/NDP endorsed candidates make this issue part of their fall campaigns" and that "Labour Council donate $100.00 to the Toronto Disarmament Network to campaign for the disarmament vote."

• Metro Toroto Labour Council Executive Board Statement, December, 1982. **The following resolutions were passed: that the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto "oppose the** production of Cruise Missile systems in Metropolitan Toronto", "support (a) the ongoing protest against the manufacture of such systems, and (b) the conversion of such facilities to socially beneficial production", "strongly condemn the violation of such basic human rights as freedom of speech and assembly that the release provisions imposed on those protestors who were arrested on Remembrance Day at Litton Indus-

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Labor

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tries in Rexdale", "support those arrested in their peaceful protest on November 11th, and especially... (those) who refused to accept the terms of released imposed by the court", and "donate $50.00 to the Cruise Missile Conversion Project."

• Ontario Federation of Labour Convention, 1981. Resolution 62 resolved "to have a consistent policy in defence of world peace—(1) Call for the total elimination of all nuclear weapons, starting with the two biggest nuclear powers, the U.S. and the USSR. (2) Urge the Canadian Government to withdraw from NATO and NORAD...."

• OFL Convention, 1982. Resolution 155 (Submitted by CUPE Local 1582) resolved that the OFL "work on behalf of its membership to demand that the Government of Canada halt plans to test the Cruise Missile anywhere within Canada or elsewhere", "work in coalition with other groups for a comprehensive test ban on nuclear weapons...", "work for the reconversion of the industry to production of peaceful products." Emergency Resolution No. 3 echoed the Metro Labour Council's statement of support for the CMCP protestors arrested at Litton.

• Canadian Labour Congress, 1982 Convention. Under the heading of "Peace, Security, and Disarmament", the CLC asserted that the labor movement is "a principal source of moral and political strength to popularise and spearhead an authentic movement for peace, security and disarmament" and therefore resolved that the CLC "make real and simultaneous disarmament an urgent priority through, among other things, the encouragement of labour movement peace petitions", "through its international contacts... ensures that all governments and their publics know that we must 'Disarm or Die' and that the policies of the international free trade union movement offer the solution".

UPCOMING PEACE EVENTS

July 21-27
Alliance for Non-violent Action
Walk from Kingston to Griffiss Air Base with international peace picnic and rally at border on July 23
contact: 532-6722

July 23-29
Arts for Peace
Celebration of Life-Canada wide festival
contact: 967-0065

August 6
TDN & ACT
Hiroshima Day
March to Queen's Park for rally
contact: 585-2255

August 9
Litton Industries, Toronto
Demonstration against the Cruise
contact: 532-6720

August 12-14
Prairie Peace Network Conference
International Festival for Peace
South of Brandon on border with North Dakota
contact: Janet Kruck, 119-17th St., Brandon, Manitoba R7A 4Z2 (204) 727-5251

August 20
Arrival of The Peace Petition Caravan
Benefit Concert
Varsity Stadium, Toronto
contact: 585-2255

August 27
Cruise Missile Conversion Project
Toronto to Washington for demonstration
contact: Bob Penner 537-5540

October 22
Toronto Disarmament Network
International Day of Protest
contact: 585-2255

Make Ontario a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone

by Richard Johnston MPP

On the first day of the new legislative session I introduced a motion in the Ontario House to the effect that Ontario should be declared a Nuclear Arms Free Zone. What started out as a dig at the more conservative (both big and small 'c') members has become a major campaign. We are now attempting to gather thousands of signatures in support of the resolution before it is debated and voted on sometime in the late Fall.

The resolution, which will be debated during Private Member's hour on a non-partisan basis, states that "In the opinion of this House" the province should declare itself a NWFZ and the government should prohibit the deployment, testing, construction, transportation, and export of nuclear weapons or components. As such it has no legal power but if passed would be the expression of will of the elected members of parliament for Ontario. The NDP as a caucus, of course, has wholly endorsed the resolution. Some members of the other parties have been quick to condemn it as playing into the hands of the Soviets and other such cold-war rhetoric.

We are now attempting to build a parallel campaign with the peace movement to take this resolution to the people of Ontario to gather their support. This will entail door-to-door canvassing, shopping mall booths, distribution at rallies, and anywhere else we can get signatures. The Anti-war committee has already wholeheartedly supported us. It is my hope that we can meet people whom we might not have met otherwise, and in so doing build the party. At the same time, forging links with the peace movement could provide us with valuable allies in the future.

For too long the Tories and the Liberals at the provincial level have avoided taking their responsibility for the continuation of Ontario's contribution to the war machine which threatens us all. We must present the Ontario people with an alternative to the current policies. We must talk to them about conversion to peaceful industrial production, about an independent Canadian defence policy, about the dangers of nuclear war, and about the possibilities of peace. I believe the debate around declaring Ontario a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone will begin to offer the New Democratic Party in a new light to different people.

Against Cruise Testing protestors marching along Yonge St. in Toronto after the Canadian government signed the comprehensive weapons testing agreement with the U.S. government. On April 23, more than 20,000 joined the ACT protest against the Cruise.

BOOKS FROM DEC

Canada and the Nuclear Arms Race — ed: E. Regehr and S. Rosenblum $12.95
Dubious Sentinel: Canada and the World Military Order — R. Swift and E. Regehr $3.00
Protest and Survive — ed: E.P. Thompson and D. Smith $4.95
Beyond the Cold War —E.P. Thompson $7.95
Towards a New Cold War —N. Chomsky $11.95
Of Bread and Guns: The World Economy in Crisis —N. Harris $6.95
Beyond the Freeze—Union of Concerned Scientists $6.95
Over Our Dead Bodies: Women Against the Bomb—$8.95
Stop Nuclear War! A Handbook —D. Barash and I. Lipton $10.75

Additional disarmament books and films available at:
DEC Bookroom
427 Bloor St. West
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1X7
(416) 964-6560
Mon-Fri 10-5/Sat 1-5

Also available from the NDP Anti War Committee are two pamphlets from the Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament, in Britain.

UPCOMING PEACE EVENTS

July 21-27
Alliance for Non-violent Action
Walk from Kingston to Griffiss Air Base with international peace picnic and rally at border on July 23
contact: 532-6722

July 23-29
Arts for Peace
Celebration of Life-Canada wide festival
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August 6
TDN & ACT
Hiroshima Day
March to Queen's Park for rally
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Cruise Missile Conversion Project
Toronto to Washington for demonstration
contact: Bob Penner 537-5540

October 22
Toronto Disarmament Network
International Day of Protest
contact: 585-2256

Support the Anti-war Committee

Dear Fellow New Democrats:

We of the NDP Antiwar Committee are doing our best to supply information, buttons and organization for building the antiwar movement and the Party. We can do this only with your help and with money generated by your voluntary contributions.

Since August 20, 1982, we have received $1,895.75 in donations.

How have we spend your donations?

1) We have issued thousands of leaflets with the Peace-oriented policy of the NDP. To date our printing costs have been $2,101.72.

2) We built an NDP float for the Toronto Labour Day Parade, which won first prize.

3) We issued statements and helped to publicise the harassment of the anti-war activists in connection with the bombing of Litton Industries.

4) We have organized two successful forums and a conference on the theme of "Politics and the Peace Movement". All of these affairs involved prominent NDP, trade-union and academic speakers.

5) We made NDP peace banners, which were exhibited at anti-war rallies.

6) We are distributing 2,000 copies of Ed Broadbent's response to Prime Minister Trudeau's "Open letter to Canadians on the Cruise".

7) We are actively participating in Richard Johnston's Campaign to declare Ontario a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone.

8) We printed a total of 3,000 of the following two buttons:

"Build the NDP—
the Anti-War Party"
"Canada Out of NATO—
NATO Out of Canada"

The buttons cost us $1,159.54 to print, but because of the enthusiastic response, we have recovered all of our original costs.

9) We have printed this, our second newsletter—but this issue of our newsletter will cost us around $1,000.00.

As of June 27, 1983, cash on hand and in the bank is $447.67.

Our activities cost money. We need your contributions if we are to win the hearts and minds of Canadians who agree with us on the question of disarmament.

We appeal to YOU to make a financial contribution of $50, $25, $10, or any amount you feel comfortable giving. Send cheque or money orders to 184 Main St., Toronto M4E 2W1, payable to NDP Antiwar Committee.

Donald G. Brant
Financial Secretary

This appeal supported by:
Dan Heap — **Neil Young**
MP Spadina — **MP Beaches**
Lynn McDonald
MP Broadview-Greenwood

Economic trap

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tent, the net export generated by the contract is actually about $185 million.

The company estimates that the initial contract will provide about 3,500 man-years of work at the London plant (with additional jobs being created at secondary suppliers in Canada). It is interesting to calculate the amount of public expenditure in Canada that will be generated by each job for one year. In the first instance, interest free loans and grants from the federal government amount to $7,400 per job. Secondly, due to the rough balance provisions in Canada/U.S. military trade arrangements, Canada is committed to importing an equal amount of military commodities from the United States. Assuming net exports of $185,000,000, this ultimately means that the Canadian Department of National Defence will ultimately have to import that amount from the U.S.; adding about another $53,000 of public expenditures per job. That brings total public expenditures per man-year to about $60,000.

The Defence Programs Branch (DPB) is assisting six Canadian corporations' efforts to provide Chile's junta with military and security equipment.

According to the office of Terry Sargeant, NDP Defence Critic, the project is made up of a number of components and contracts which include: an intrusion detection system initially slated for installation at **three Chilean prisons** with the potential for further installation as electronic border surveillance; electronic tactical warfare training simulators; ground terminals for satellite communication; both shipborne and airborne off-shore surveillance systems to meet the requirements for off-shore patrol and anti-submarine warfare.

All possible solidarity efforts should be made to block the approval of this project (it will be presented in spring 1983 for further export development monies). Please make this information known to your organizations, frinds and press contacts. Protests should be sent to Allan MacEachen, Secretary of State for External Affairs, House of Commons, Ottawa.

Military Production

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missile."

One Liberal and several Tories supported the motion. Several Liberals abstained. The motion was lost 213 to 34.

Last March, Doug Anguish (NDP MP, Battlefords-Meadowlake) introduced a private members bill in the House of Commons to declare Canada a nuclear weapons free zone. In Ontario, Richard Johnston has mobilized a campaign around his resolution to make Ontario a nuclear weapons free zone.

As Reagan, Trudeau and NATO firm up their decision to deploy 572 U.S. Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in five west European countries before the year's end, the NDP and the antiwar movement are challenged to mobilize the biggest mass demonstrations ever. The campaign against the Cruise testing in Canada must be thrust to the centre during the early August commemorations of Hiroshima Day and the slated October 22 cross-Canada demonstrations.

It is up to rank and file New Democrats in every part of the country to build upon the initiatives of our members of Parliament to make our pro-disarmament positions known and support movements for peace. That is the way to build the NDP as the antiwar party of Canada.

Attention antiwar activists! The Against Cruise Testing coalition, in association with disarmament groups all across the country, have announced that demonstrations will be held on the Saturday following the government's decision to sign the U.S. Cruise testing agreement. The time to prepare is now!

Labor

continued from page 3

tries in Rexdale", "support those arrested in their peaceful protest on November 11th, and especially... (those) who refused to accept the terms of released imposed by the court", and "donate $50.00 to the Cruise Missile Conversion Project."

• Ontario Federation of Labour Convention, 1981. Resolution 62 resolved "to have a consistent policy in defence of world peace—(1) Call for the total elimination of all nuclear weapons, starting with the two biggest nuclear powers, the U.S. and the USSR. (2) Urge the Canadian Government to withdraw from NATO and NORAD...."

• OFL Convention, 1982. Resolution 155 (Submitted by CUPE Local 1582) resolved that the OFL "work on behalf of its membership to demand that the Government of Canada halt plans to test the Cruise Missile anywhere within Canada or elsewhere", "work in coalition with other groups for a comprehensive test ban on nuclear weapons...", "work for the reconversion of the industry to production of peaceful products." Emergency Resolution No. 3 echoed the Metro Labour Council's statement of support for the CMCP protestors arrested at Litton.

• Canadian Labour Congress, 1982 Convention. Under the heading of "Peace, Security, and Disarmament", **the CLC asserted that the labor movement is "a principal source of moral and political strength to popularise and spearhead an** authentic movement for peace, security and disarmament" and therefore resolved that the CLC "make real and simultaneous disarmament an urgent priority through, among other things, the encouragement of labour movement peace petitions", "through its international contacts... ensures that all governments and their publics know that we must 'Disarm or Die' and that the policies of the international free trade union movement offer the solution".

... CONFERENCE REPORT

continued from page 1

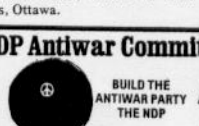
which would counteract the aggressive U.S. war drive and undercut the Soviet bureaucracy's rationale of patriotic defence used against worker's movements in Eastern Europe. Making links with the disarmament movement and a consideration of Russian fears for nuclear war led to a lively and informative discussion.

Preceding the last workshop—building the antiwar party—Christopher Ross (steering committee, Antiwar Committee) introduced Scarborough West MP Richard Johnston. Johnston praised the Antiwar Committee's work as a way of helping to rebuild the party.

Harry Paine (St. David's riding) led off the panel with an analysis of the development of the antiwar movement since the 60's. He posed the key issue as that of politicizing the various movements and bringing them into the NDP where the question of workers' power is posed. Laura Pascoe spoke on the need for the party to move out, emphasizing the need for the party to regain its feeling as a movement. Art Jaszczyk (York North riding) completed the panel with his recounting of the impressive development of the disarmament movement in his home town of Markham. He contrasted the party's poor showing at the opinion polls to its popular antiwar policies to add weight to the need for a more aggressive public education stance on issues like NATO and NORAD.

As an indicator of the accomplishments of the conference, we can report that we were able to sign up for party membership a number of lapsed party members and attracted some new contacts who were enthused by the party's antiwar work. We circulated hundreds of copies of our first antiwar newsletter, received hundreds of dollars in donations, and arranged a half dozen literature tables from various disarmament groups for the information of conference participants.

NDP Antiwar Committee Buttons Available



NATO OUT OF CANADA—CANADA OUT OF NATO

INDIVIDUAL BUTTONS — $1.00 EACH

ORDERS OF 20 OR MORE — $.67 EACH

Please send me: _____"BUILD THE NDP....."
_____"NATO OUT OF CANADA..."

Enclosed is a cheque or money order for $ _____

Payable to: NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE, c/o: Donald C. MacDonald House, 184 Main St., Toronto, Ontario M4E 2W1

Make Ontario a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone

by Richard Johnston MPP

On the first day of the new legislative session I introduced a motion in the Ontario House to the effect that Ontario should be declared a Nuclear Arms Free Zone. What started out as a dig at the more conservative (both big and small 'c') members has become a major campaign. We are now attempting to gather thousands of signatures in support of the resolution before it is debated and voted on sometime in the late Fall.

The resolution, which will be debated during Private Member's hour on a non-partisan basis, states that "In the opinion of this House" the province should declare itself a NWFZ and the government should prohibit the deployment, testing, construction, transportation, and export of nuclear weapons or components. As such it has no legal power but if passed would be the expression of will of the elected members of parliament for Ontario. The NDP as a caucus, of course, has wholly endorsed the resolution. Some members of the other parties have been quick to condemn it as playing into the hands of the Soviets and other such cold-war rhetoric.

We are now attempting to build a parallel campaign with the peace movement to take this resolution to the people of Ontario to gather their support. This will entail door-to-door canvassing, shopping mall booths, distribution at rallies, and anywhere else we can get signatures. The Anti-war committee has already wholeheartedly supported us. It is my hope that we can meet people whom we might not have met otherwise, and in so doing build the party. At the same time, forging links with the peace movement could provide us with valuable allies in the future.

For too long the Tories and the Liberals at the provincial level have avoided taking their responsibility for the continuation of Ontario's contribution to the war machine which threatens us all. We must present the Ontario people with an alternative to the current policies. We must talk to them about conversion to peaceful industrial production, about an independent Canadian defence policy, about the dangers of nuclear war, and about the possibilities of peace. I believe the debate around declaring Ontario a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone will begin to offer the New Democratic Party in a new light to different people.

Against Cruise Testing protestors marching along Yonge St. in Toronto after the Canadian government signed the comprehensive weapons testing agreement with the U.S. government. On April 23, more than 20,000 joined the ACT protest against the Cruise.

BOOKS FROM DEC

Canada and the Nuclear Arms Race — ed: E. Regehr and S. Rosenblum $12.95
Dubious Sentinel: Canada and the World Military Order — R. Swift and E. Regehr $3.00
Protest and Survive — ed: E.P. Thompson and D. Smith $4.95
Beyond the Cold War
—E.P. Thompson $7.95
Towards a New Cold War
—N. Chomsky $11.95
Of Bread and Guns: The World Economy in Crisis
—N. Harris $6.95
Beyond the Freeze—Union of Concerned Scientists $6.95
Over Our Dead Bodies: Women Against the Bomb—$8.95
Stop Nuclear War! A Handbook
—D. Barash and I. Lipton $10.75

Additional disarmament books and films available at:
DEC Bookroom
427 Bloor St. West
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1X7
(416) 964-6560
Mon-Fri 10-5/Sat 1-5

Also available from the NDP Anti War Committee are two pamphlets from the Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament, in Britain.

Support the Anti-war Committee

Dear Fellow New Democrats:

We of the NDP Antiwar Committee are doing our best to supply information, buttons and organization for building the antiwar movement and the Party. We can do this only with your help and with money generated by your voluntary contributions.

Since August 20, 1982, we have received $1,895.75 in donations.

How have we spend your donations?

1) We have issued thousands of leaflets with the Peace-oriented policy of the NDP. To date our printing costs have been $2,101.72.

2) We built an NDP float for the Toronto Labour Day Parade, which won first prize.

3) We issued statements and helped to publicise the harassment of the anti-war activists in connection with the bombing of Litton Industries.

4) We have organized two successful forums and a conference on the theme of "Politics and the Peace Movement". All of these affairs involved prominent NDP, trade-union and academic speakers.

5) We made NDP peace banners, which were exhibited at anti-war rallies.

6) We are distributing 2,000 copies of Ed Broadbent's response to Prime Minister Trudueau's "Open letter to Canadians on the Cruise".

7) We are actively participating in Richard Johnston's Campaign to declare Ontario a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone.

8) We printed a total of 3,000 of the following two buttons:

"Build the NDP—
the Anti-War Party"
"Canada Out of NATO—
NATO Out of Canada"

The buttons cost us $1,159.54 to print, but because of the enthusiastic response, we have recovered all of our original costs.

9) We have printed this, our second newsletter—but this issue of our newsletter will cost us around $1,000.00.

As of June 27, 1983, cash on hand and in the bank is $447.67.

Our activities cost money. We need your contributions if we are to win the hearts and minds of Canadians who agree with us on the question of disarmament.

We appeal to YOU to make a financial contribution of $50, $25, $10, or any amount you feel comfortable giving. Send cheque or money orders to 184 Main St., Toronto M4E 2W1, payable to NDP Antiwar Committee.

Donald G. Brant
Financial Secretary

This appeal supported by:

Dan Heap — **MP Spadina**
Neil Young — **MP Beaches**
Lynn McDonald — **MP Broadview-Greenwood**

Found in 1983-

NDP Antiwar Committee

Well done New Democrats! October 22nd was the largest demonstration of anti-war forces Toronto has ever seen and the NDP was there in full force. Our caucus stands firm against testing cruise missiles in Canadian air space and our membership has proven that they are prepared to back them up.

Trudeau seems determined to go ahead with cruise testing in spite of the overwhelming opposition of Canadian's. Reagan is prepared to risk nuclear war to impose his concept of "democracy" on Grenada and the rest of the world.

Where do we go from here?

Nuclear disarmament will be one of the key issues in the next federal election. It is imperative to have the support of the entire peace movement to carry our message to the Canadian people. We cannot allow organizations like the Greens to split the vote and divert the progressive forces.

Over 20,000 signatures have been collected in support of resolution #1 and phase two of Richard Johnston's campaign to make Ontario a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone is in full swing. We urge you to call, write or arrange a meeting with your MPP. Let her/him know you support resolution #1 and emphasize the importance of a free vote in the house in order that people may approach this issue according to their own conscience.

Promote the issue of nuclear disarmament in every way possible. Riding representation on our committee is welcomed and much needed. Various events are planned for Remembrance week. Pauline Jewitt will speak at George Ignatieff Theatre, Trinity College, U of T, on November 23rd at 4 p.m. Contact Malcolm French, U of T NDP Club at 978-3282. The Against Cruise Testing Coalition will be holding a Santa Claus Parade on December 3rd, as well as Canada wide demonstrations on January 21st. Keep up to date with the latest events by subscribing to The Peace Calendar from CANDIS, 10 Trinity Sq., Toronto, M5G 1B1.

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

-Alderman's Lounge, City Hall

-Thursday, November 10, 8 p.m.

-Agenda: Discussion of committee priorities and direction

Contact: Harry Paine 466-1307
Cheryl Sweiger 532-3639

Act now to halt Cruise tests

NDP ANTIWAR NEWSLETTER

VOL. 1, NO. 3 NOVEMBER, 1983

by THE EDITORS

The world is facing the danger of a complete nuclear holocaust. The shooting down of the Korean jet in late August underscored this urgency. It is clear that responsibility for this action rests not only with the Soviets. The constant escalation of nuclear weapon placement around the world poses a mounting threat of either accidental or deliberate provocation.

The atrocities committed by American-supported tyrants in Latin America and around the world discredit the self-righteous proclamation issued in the name of freedom and non-aggression by Reagan and his Canadian cohorts.

Nor should we be fooled by Trudeau's recent platitudes regarding the Soviet Union that "we have to talk to them first, and we can't do that if we are shouting 'murderers'." He is talking out of both sides of his mouth. As long as the Canadian government continues to allow testing of the cruise missile, clearly against the will of the majority, Trudeau's words of peace are so much demagogy.

The Canadian government has taken sides with the U.S. in this cold war which every day threatens to become nuclear and hot. The proliferation of nuclear weapons actively invites counter-escalation and even greater nuclear instability. The increased threat of attack is more likely to cause incidents such as the Korean jet massacre to happen again anywhere in the world, possibly escalating into all-out war.

Meanwhile, the Geneva arms talks are on the verge of collapse. The Soviet Union has threatened to pull out if the U.S. goes ahead with the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in western Europe and to reply by installing its own version in eastern Europe.

Countries like Japan are increasing their arms spending by unprecedented amounts. A recent independently financed U.S. study found that the current world military budget, per year, is $660 billion. There is a stockpile of 50,000 nuclear weapons, 25 million men and women are under arms, one billion people are living under military-controlled governments and more than nine million civilians have been killed in conventional wars since Hiroshima.

The threat of war is urgent. No other issue today is more important. This fall and winter, millions across the globe will be demonstrating against the U.S. and NATO's plans to install cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

The New Democratic Party has pledged its support to this struggle and has vowed to help in every way possible block the Liberal and Tory plans to maintain Canada as a partner to the arms race.

Stop Cruise Testing! Jobs Not Bombs!
Canada out of NATO—NATO out of Canada!

Cruise challenged in courts

by ZANE BOYD

The testing of the cruise missile recently touched off a major constitutional wrangle and caused considerable public controversy. On October 13, the Federal Court of Appeal reserved judgment on whether to allow a coalition of 26 peace, labour and women's organizations to proceed with their bid to obtain an injunction to halt the cruise tests. The coalition claimed that the Cabinet's decision to allow the testing violates their right to life, liberty and security as guaranteed under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The issue is not a trivial one. The government, which 13 months ago hailed with great fanfare the historical import of the Charter, now tells us it was never meant to apply to such critical matters as defense policy and national security. Moreover, complains the government, to allow the courts to review Cabinet decisions would usurp the authority of Parliament. (This from a government that has refused to have the cruise testing agreement debated in the House of Commons!)

But the very nature and purpose of a constitutional Charter is that it is supposed to appeal to time-honoured, basic human rights and liberties over and above the transient, imperfect nature of the political process. What is in question is not Parliament's authority to decide, but whether citizens have recourse to appeal government decisions to a higher authority when those decisions adversely affect their basic rights and livelihood.

It was, after all, a duly elected Parliament which invoked the War Measures Act—even with debate—on three separate occasions: in 1919, against the labour and socialist movement, in the wake of the Winnipeg General Strike; in 1941, against Japanese Canadians; and in 1970, against the rising nationalist movement in Quebec. Had there then been a constitutional Charter, would the victims not have been granted the right to challenge these shameful acts of Parliament in the courts?

Today, the escalating arms race and our collective survival are the overriding issues facing humanity. It is Ottawa's agreement to test the cruise missile that above all makes Canada party to the arms drive and threatens our survival. Canadians must have the right to appeal government decisions to the supreme law of the land, not excepting in such areas as defense and national security, but above all in such life-and-death matters.

CANADIAN SECURITY IS NOT IN ARMAMENTS BUT IN SOCIAL VALUES
BILLIONS FOR ARMS
THE STRENGTH OF OUR CONVICTIONS NOT THE STRENGTH OF OUR WEAPONS
AHEM - WOT ABOUT CANADIAN BILLIONS FOR WARPLANES ?
DISARMAMENT NOW. LONG LIVE DETENTE!
HEY - WHY ARE WE FORKING OUT BILLIONS FOR WEAPONS ?
JUST IN CASE, BUSTER, I WANT TO INVOKE THE WAR MEASURES ACT.

Nuclear weapon free Ontario gathers broad support

The campaign to make Ontario Nuclear Weapon Free is gathering momentum. By mid-October over 10,000 people from virtually every provincial riding had signed petitions of support.

The campaign began in April when New Democrat MPP Richard Johnston introduced Resolution #1 into the Ontario legislature. If passed, it would prohibit the deployment, testing, construction and transportation of nuclear weapons in Ontario.

New Democrats have worked throughout the summer with local peace groups, labour unions and church leaders to collect signatures of support. Nuclear Weapon Free Zone posters and petitions were distributed at peace rallies, fall fairs, shopping malls and door-to-door. The provincial ridings of Bellwoods, Scarborough Ellesmere and Oakwood have sponsored general meetings around this and other peace issues and several federal ridings are taking the petition door-to-door as part of their fall canvass. At least ten NDP campus clubs are participating in the campaign in Universities across Ontario.

The NWFZ campaign is important because it is one of the few peace issues that will be debated and voted on in a public forum by our politicians. Resolution #1 will be debated at Queen's Park in mid-November.

In the next few weeks the campaign will work to convince our MPPs that declaring Ontario Nuclear Weapon Free would be a progressive and independent approach to the nuclear arms issue. The passive cooperation of Canada and other non-nuclear countries with their more powerful allies allows a more extensive nuclear weapon system than would otherwise be possible. The Nuclear Weapon Free Zone campaign can influence the spread of nuclear weapons by reducing the areas in the world where they can be tested, manufactured or deployed.

The outcome of the vote on Resolution #1 will be influenced by the support shown for the campaign. You can show your support by signing a petition, putting a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone poster in your window and by calling, visiting and writing your MPP. The target date for signatures is October 30, and the resolution will most likely be debated in the House in mid-November. For information on the campaign call Richard Johnston's office at 416-965-7771, or Cheryl Sweiger at 416-532-3639.

Group calls for referendum on Cruise, NATO

The Ottawa-based peace organization Operation Dismantle has called for a national referendum on the testing of the cruise missile and on Canada's membership in NATO. The proposal for the two-part referendum was drafted by Michael Mandel, a professor of law at Osgoode Hall, and circulated by the peace group at a Toronto press conference in late July.

It was in July that Trudeau suggested Ottawa would reconsider the agreement to test the cruise only if it could be demonstrated that a majority of Canadians are against it. He suggested this could only be done through a federal election fought on the issue of Canada's membership in NATO.

The referendum proposal is designed to meet Trudeau's challenge. However, Operation Dismantle maintains that a general election, "with its many regional issues and the governing of the country at stake," is not a suitable mechanism for the people to make their views known. "We believe that, with world peace in the balance, it is the right and the duty of every Canadian to make up his or her mind on this issue and to take a stand. . . A national referendum would be the occasion for a nationwide debate which would enhance everyone's understanding of all aspects of the issue, with the result that whatever decision was ultimately taken would be a fully conscious and mature decision."

For further information on the referendum proposal, contact Operation Dismantle's main office at Box 3887, Station C, Ottawa K1Y 4M5, telephone (613) 722-6001.

PAULINE JEWITT, NDP MPP, COMMONS DEBATE, JUNE 1983:

"It is significant that the Cruise missile is not simply a weapon of deterrence. It is designed for the purpose of intimidation and to fight a nuclear war. Whether we talk about the land, air or submarine-launched Cruise missile, the whole point is its pinpoint accuracy so that it can be used to take out missiles in their silos. In other words, it is designed for fighting a nuclear war, not deterring a nuclear war."

U.S. study blasts arms spending

New and devastating statistical ammunition has been made available to the antiwar movement with the recent release of a study on global military and social expenditure. Authored by Ruth Leger Sivard, the report was sponsored by several private U.S. organizations, including the Arms Control Association and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Among the findings:

- Every minute the World spends $1.3 million for military purposes, while in the same time-span 30 children die from lack of food and medicine.
- The cost of one new nuclear submarine equals the annual education budget of 23 developing countries with 160 million school-age children.
- In a year when U.S. farmers were paid to take almost 40.5 million hectares of cropland out of production, 450 million people in the world are starving.
- The world's stockpile of nuclear weapons represents an explosive force over 5,000 times greater than all the munitions used in the Second World War.

Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are called the driving force behind the arms buildup. The report compares the effects of military spending on the two economies. In the U.S., 6.5% of GNP is spent on the military (compared to 1% prior to World War II). The U.S.S.R. "reels under an even larger burden": in 1980, the Soviet military consumed 10 to 12 per cent of GNP.

"An arms race no country can afford crowds out social needs," concludes Sivard in her summary.

NDP ANTI WAR COMMITTEE

Subcommittee of Metro New Democrats

The NDP Antiwar Newsletter is a publication of the NDP Antiwar Committee. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Committee.

Co-chairpersons: Harry Paine/ Laura Pascoe

Newsletter Editor: Kimberley Wilde

Organizer: Cheryl Sweiger

Secretary: Marg Pilger

Treasurer: Muni Taub

Members at Large: Alawi Mohadeen, Burt Keser, Vi Thompson, Fiona Chapman, Diana Postlethwaite, Zane Boyd.

Any article from the NDP Antiwar Newsletter may be reprinted without fee as long at the Newsletter is acknowledged.

Mailing Address:
NDP Antiwar Committee
184 Main St., Toronto, Ont.
M4E 2W1

Typeset and laid out by union labor

Union greets NDP committee

Editor: Recently the Antiwar Committee received the following letter from London and District Service Workers' Union, Local 220. We were happy to accommodate their request. How about writing us for your bundle of NDP Antiwar Newsletters today?

Recently I was given a copy of the latest issue of your Newsletter: Vol. 1, No.2—July, 1983. A great issue and right on target, so to speak!

I am writing to request extra copies (250?) if at all possible. Our Local Union is having its 13th Annual Local Union Officers Conference on Friday, September 30th, 1983 and one of the main items on our programme will be the screening of the NFB Film—"If You Love This Planet," followed by a discussion led by our newly elected Local Union Peace Action Committee. Approximately 185 delegates from all over Southwestern Ontario representing over 7,500 health care and public service workers, will be in attendance.

The NDP Antiwar Newsletter would be a welcome addition to our conference kit, so please send, or let me know how I can obtain, such extra copies.

Paul D. Middleton
Union Representative

1981 convention statement

NDP on disarmament

1) A New Democratic Party government will not participate in the development, testing, production or supply of arms or arms components to be used in third party arms trade and wars of aggression. The Defence Production Sharing Agreement ties Canada into weapons production and weapons-associated industrial production that is unacceptable to NDP foreign policy and industrial strategy goals. Under a New Democratic Party government Canada will withdraw from the Defence Production Sharing Agreement.

2) A New Democratic Party government will strictly control the export of arms so that Canadian weapons and military support equipment are not used anywhere in the world for the suppression of democratic rights and freedoms.

3) A New Democratic Party government will work with all other nations to obtain the ratification of and compliance with the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

4) A New Democratic Party government will make Canada a nuclear-free zone, will also work for a multilateral arms control and arms verification agreement, and will devote a portion of the Canadian defence budget to arms control and peace research.

5) A New Democratic Party government will actively support the SALT process and will seek the enlargement of confidence-building measures, balanced force reductions in Europe, the creation of nuclear-free zones and the de-militarization of space.

6) The NDP supports a strategy of nuclear suffocation and a global referendum on disarmament.

7) The NDP recognizes the need for a thorough review of the housing, training, placement and pay-scale problems of the Canadian Armed Forces and the need to review the tasks and responsibilities of the Forces. Recognizing this and the issues of northern sovereignty, off-shore patrol, and the question of participation in peacekeeping forces, a New Democratic Party government will immediately commission an in-depth study or White Paper on Canada's defence needs and the Canadian Armed Forces.

8) A New Democratic Party government will withdraw from the NORAD agreement and seek new forms of multilateral co-operation with the United States and other nations for information gathering and threat assessment.

9) A New Democratic Party government will not be a member of the NATO alliance.

Oh-oh Canada!

British Labour Party upholds unilateralist stand

by HARRY PAINE

The British Labour Party, at its recent annual conference, voted overwhelmingly to reaffirm its policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament. Defeating those who would have watered down Labour's program on this contentious issue, the delegates voted to "unconditionally scrap all nuclear weapons systems" and reject "any Pentagon-dominated military pact."

Michael Foot, the past leader, drew a long standing ovation when he made an impassioned plea to the party not to reject the Manifesto, Labour's election program, that some had blamed for the defeat of the party last June.

This decision will give new hope to the hundreds of thousands of Britons who have been carrying a struggle against the deployment and testing of missiles on British soil.

Peace activists throughout the country will provide a strong base from which the party can build toward defeating Margaret Thatcher in the next election. The key to that victory will be strong unity of all those who are opposed to the use of Europe as a no-mans-land between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

"In Britain the movement is completely unilateral. We are parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and we reject the use of the bomb by Britain. Our main campaign just now is to stop cruise, stop Trident, and have a freeze on nuclear arms.

We believe that all smaller states can get rid of nuclear weapons without endangering anybody. The whole idea that we need more bombs in more countries to protect ourselves is absolute rubbish. We have more than enough to destroy the world. These are not defence weapons—they're weapons for suicide at the same moment."

—E.P. THOMPSON

CBC airs 'WAR' series

WAR, an unprecedented series of seven one-hour films examining the nature, evolution and consequences of modern warfare began Sunday, October 2 at 9 p.m. on the full CBC-TV network. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada, the series was written and conceived by Canadian international-affairs journalist and military historian Gwynee Dyer,

OCTOBER 2
The Road to Total War.

OCTOBER 9
Anybody's Son Will Do

OCTOBER 16
The Profession of Arms

OCTOBER 23
The Deadly Game of Nations.

OCTOBER 30
Keeping the Old Game Allve compares NATO-Warsaw Pact plans for World War II, using conventional weapons, with the shocking

NOVEMBER 6
Notes On Nuclear War. A revealing survey of the nuclear arms race since World War II.

NOVEMBER 13
Goodbye War. Gwynne Dyer looks at why previous efforts at change have failed and why we must find another way of settling our disputes if we are to survive.

The entire WAR series will be available in 16mm film and video formats from all NFB offices, beginning January 1984.

UPCOMING PEACE EVENTS

OCTOBER

Saturday 22
Demonstrations and marches are being held across Canada today in the following cities: Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver, Victoria, Winnipeg, St. John's, St. John, Halifax, Hamilton, Ottawa, Peterborough, Thunder Bay, Windsor, P.E.I., Montreal, Regina, Saskatoon, and Toronto.

United Nations Association:
If You Love This Planet—DANCE! with SOCIAL INSECURITY. 7:30 pm to 1:00 am, St. George Greek Orthodox Church, 115 Bond St. $6.00 at the door only.
Contact: Steve Purdey, 366-6741 or Marjorie Telling at 656-6788.

Saturday 29
ACT:
Halloween Benefit House Party to help raise money for Dec. 3 and Jan. 21 demonstrations to be announced.
Contact: ACT at 461-7003.

Sunday 30
World Conference on Religion for Peace:
Annual Multi-Regligious service for Peace. Music and readings from various religious traditions. Main Speaker, Sister Rosalie Bertell of Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice. 7:30 pm, Bloor St. United Church (Bloor and Huron).
Contact: Frank Showler, 466-0566.

NOVEMBER

Tuesday 1
TDN:
General meeting, 7:30 p.m., Friend's House, 60 Lowther Ave.
Contact: TDN at 977-0732.

Friday 4
TDN and **DEC Films** present Oscar winning film director, Peter Watkins. He will discuss his next production, **The Nuclear War Film. The War Game**, his documentary about the aftermath of nuclear war that was banned by the BBC from world television for being too realistic, will be viewed.

- Music Hall Theatre, 147 Danforth Ave. at Broadview Subway
- 7:30 p.m.
- Tickets $5 at the door Students, Seniors & Unemployed $4
- Proceeds will go towards the production of **The Nuclear War Film.**

Monday 7
Against Cruise Testing [ACT] Coalition:
General meeting 7:30 p.m., Bathurst St. United Church, 730 Bathurst. ACT general meetings are held on the first Monday, every month.
Contact: ACT at 461-7003.

Thursday 10
NDP Antiwar Committee:
General meeting. Alderman's Lounge, City Hall, 7:30 p.m. General meetings are held on the second Thursday, every month. Films, slide shows, educational discussions.
Contact: Harry Paine 466-1307
Contact: Kimberley Wilde 967-3817

Perspective on Eastern Europe

One of the most inspiring developments in the new rise of the international anti-nuclear war movement is the growth of independent peace groups in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The following series of pamphlets has recently been published by European Nuclear Disarmament (END) and offers valuable information and discussion on these organizations and the issues of peace and war from their perspective.

The New Hungarian Peace Movement by Ferenc Koszegi and E.P. Thompson. $2.50

Moscow Independent Peace Group by Jean Stead and Danielle Grunbert, with documents. $2.50

The Sword and The Ploughshare —Autonomous Peace Initiatives in East Germany by John Sandford. $5.00

Voices from Prague edited by Jan Kavan and Zdena Tomin. $2.00

Also in this series—**Turkey** by Mehmet Ali Dikerdem and John Mepham, on the history and work of the Turkish Peace Association. $2.50

All these pamphlets are available post-free from the magazine **Our Generation**, 3981 boulevard Saint-Laurent, Montreal, H2W 1Y5.

Join, support the NDP Antiwar Committee

The NDP Antiwar Committee has been in operation for a year. Our first public activity was to enter a float in the 1982 Labour Day parade for which we won first prize. We recently organized a float for the 1983 parade as well, based on the Nuclear Weapons Free Zone theme. In between, we have held public forums, conferences, produced fact sheets and three newsletters, produced and sold thousands of buttons and helped to build the antiwar movement across Canada.

Currently we are organizing and collecting signatures for the NWFZ campaign initiated by Richard Johnston, NDP MPP. We have begun an extensive program to provide speakers and educational material for meetings and events both inside and outside the NDP.

We believe that political support for the NDP and our policy is of vital interest to the antiwar movement. We encourage all New Democrats and other interested people to become involved in the struggle for disarmament.

The committee's general meetings are held the second Thursday of every month at 7:30 p.m. in the Aldermen's Lounge at the Toronto City Hall.

For further information contact:
Co-chairpersons
Harry Paine 466-1307
Laura Pascoe 924-4934

Organizer
Cheryl Sweiger 532-3639

Newsletter editor
Kimberley Wilde 466-1307
967-3817

We urgently need your financial support as well as your active involvement. Make out a cheque or money order to the NDP Antiwar Committee and send it along to us today c/o 184 Main St., Toronto, Ontario M4E 2W1.

Vi Thompson, long time peace activist and member of the NDP Antiwar Committee ran for school trustee in East York recently. We congratulate Vi on her campaign effort, coming within 19 votes of victory. We are most happy to have Vi back with us on the committee.

NDP Antiwar Committee Buttons Available

BUILD THE ANTIWAR PARTY THE NDP

NATO OUT OF CANADA—CANADA OUT OF NATO

INDIVIDUAL BUTTONS — $1.00 EACH

ORDERS OF 20 OR MORE — $.67 EACH

Please send me: _____"BUILD THE NDP...."
_____"NATO OUT OF CANADA..."

Enclosed is a cheque or money order for $ _____

Payable to: NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE, c/o: Donald C. MacDonald House, 184 Main St., Toronto, Ontario M4E 2W1

LC-CC 84

THE NDP AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

By Gord Doctorow, Chairman, NDP Antiwar Committee

This coming summer will witness millions mobilizing in the Americas, across Europe, from Portugal through France and Germany, right into the East European states, to halt the accelerating deployment of nuclear armed missiles. Hundreds of thousands who have never been involved in any kind of public social action will be demonstrating in the streets. What was minority opinion is becoming majority opinion.

The British Labour Party conference responded to this sentiment last fall by voting, by over a two-thirds majority, in favor of British unilateral nuclear disarmament. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with more than 6 million affiliated through the trade unions, has decided that its central actions will be organized with the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party in August 1983. They will mark the anniversary of the U.S. dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The central slogan will be "Britain Out of NATO -- NATO Out of Britain."

The U.S. government intends to install Cruise Missiles in the network of military emplacements sustained by those states committed to the NATO military alliance. If it succeeds, the nuclear arms drive will gravely imperil the world's prospects for survival. For these installations will mark a large leap in acceptance of readiness to make nuclear war.

What is Canada's role? Prime Minister Trudeau hypocritically calls for "suffocating" the arms race while providing the site for the testing and perfection of the Cruise Missile on Canadian soil. His government justifies this on the basis of its commitment to NATO thus tightening Canada's integration into the U.S. military alliance.

The growing concern and opposition to the nuclear arms drive among Canadians in every walk of life was revealed in last fall's municipal referenda calling upon the Canadian government to pursue disarmament. The polls showed 70% to 80% in favor across the country. Since then, a poll of the general population has registered 52% as being opposed to the testing of the Cruise Missile here. NDP MPs, especially Pauline Jewett and Dan Heap, as well as party leaders Ed Broadbent and Bob Rae, have been outspoken in and out of parliament in their opposition to the Cruise testing.

Our party is the Canadian antiwar party by virtue of the fact

that it is based on the organizations and support of working people and society's dispossessed. Since the drive for profit at all costs is alien to us, we have no stake in supporting the arms drive. At the same time, our party has held a formal policy of opposition to NATO, NORAD and the Defence Production Sharing Agreements for some time. At the last federal convention, we adopted the principle of making Canada a nuclear-weapons-free zone along with re-affirming our previous policy. Our parliamentary spokespersons have often proclaimed the priority need to maintain social services and peacetime jobs.

Yet the public opinion polls indicate, despite the recession and popular antiwar sentiment, that only 21% to 22% of Canadians across the country would support the NDP in a federal election. Sixty-one percent do not identify with the party.

What has been lacking, and is vitally necessary, is for the party to actively mobilize around these policies among the growing number of antiwar Canadians. By doing so we can educate the Canadian people that their interests lie with the NDP and in opposition to the pro-military policies of the Tory and Liberal parties.

As a contribution to winning a new hearing for the party, the NDP Antiwar Committee was founded in Metro Toronto last August. Since that time, we have organized a disarmament float in the Labour Day parade, an antiwar forum of some 350 people during last October's Disarmament Week, and a contingent of NDPers to the October 30 anti-Cruise protest in Ottawa. We have circulated our policy statements to disarmament rallies and produced a button and banner proclaiming the NDP as the antiwar party. Many New Democrats, active in disarmament issues, have gladly worn these buttons and mobilized behind the party banner.

There is much more to be done and a great deal of promise for the party. But it requires a lot more organization and involvement at the riding level. The Antiwar Committee is striving to meet this challenge by hosting two important events. We will be providing an antiwar evening featuring music, guerilla theatre and a party afterwards on Sat. March 12 at the International Student Centre, University of Toronto. On April 8 and 9, we will be holding a metro-wide organizing conference for all ridings to hear prominent party spokespersons and to discuss how to get involved at the local level. Also, we have endorsed the March 5 International Women's Day demonstration, which has a disarmament theme, and the April 23 Day of Protest against the Cruise which will take place as a cross-country series of demonstrations.

We need lots of help from NDP members. As we continue to produce mailings, information kits, pamphlets, and buttons, our financial needs grow. Please consider sending financial contributions to the Committee. The NDP Antiwar Committee may be contacted c/o Ontario NDP, 184 Main St., Toronto M4E 2W1.

1984

NDP ANTIWAR NEWSLETTER

What Electoral Choice for Disarmament?

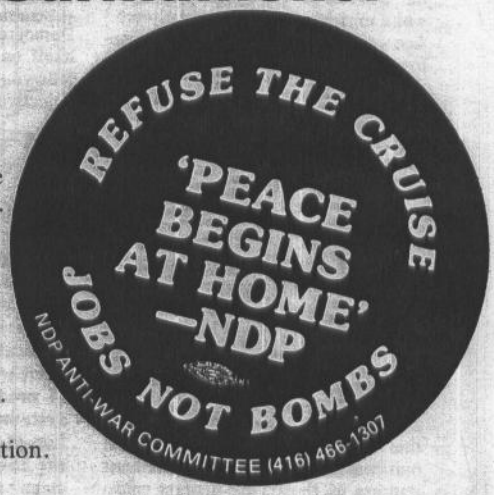
The Problem

This year, 1984, is an election year and the overriding issue of that election is the survival of the human race. A sincere pro-disarmament government in Canada could have considerable influence in isolating the arms race and the headlong rush to nuclear war.

The economic and social costs of massive military spending underscore all other election issues. Inflation and unemployment can be directly related to the increased military budget. Cutbacks in social service are accompanied by huge subsidies to companies producing implements of mass destruction.

The psychological effect on human beings, growing up in a world on the edge of a nuclear holocaust, cannot even be measured. The best medicare and the best social services would do us little good in a world devastated in the aftermath of a nuclear war.

This very real fear that Canadians have expressed in their clear opposition to such aggressive acts as the testing of the cruise missiles must be focused in a political direction.



The Record

The Peace Petition Caravan Campaign is posing the centrality of disarmament in the coming election. The demands of the campaign are clearly focused to meet the needs of an independent Canadian policy. The NDP Anti War Committee is giving full support to this broad coalition of labour, women's, church and community organizations. The strategy of the campaign is to mobilize public opinion and confront the politicians at election time.

The past record is very clear and there is little indication of any change. Trudeau and the Liberals have posed themselves as a party of peace initiatives outside Canada but have slavishly bowed to every wish of the U.S. war machine. Trudeau's globe-trotting and MacEachren's feeble overtures in Latin America mean very little when stacked up against cruise testing, subsidies to companies like Litton and continued support of NATO. With Turner as leader even these election carrots will no doubt be quickly forgotten.

As far as the Conservatives are concerned, it would appear that Canada could be destined to go through a period of Reagan politics. Commenting on the appointment of Sinclair Stevens as foreign affairs critic, by Brian Mulroney, another Tory MP described their policy as "The militarization of foreign affairs, with limited nuclear war not ruled out, foreign aid slashed, and repressive regimes bolstered."

The NDP has in the past and is committed in the future to clear opposition to the nuclear arms race. It was NDP MP Pauline Jewett who forced the issue of the cruise testing on the floor of parliament. On June 14, 1983, on an NDP motion to stop cruise testing, 98% of Liberal and Tory MPs voted against the motion and 100% of NDP MPs voted in favour.

The NDP has worked in parliament, in the legislatures and on the doorsteps to bring about disarmament. It has given unqualified support to the peace movement, as well as conducting its own campaigns such as Richard Johnson's attempt to have Ontario declared a nuclear weapons free zone last year.

There is only one voice in parliament which represents the thousands of Canadians who oppose war, there is only one party that the peace movement can trust to carry out its program of disarmament and convert military spending to funding human needs.

The Solution

The need is there and the sentiment is there. The task is to mobilize that sentiment into a political force that can not only bring pressure but can actually change society. The Peace Petition Caravan Campaign is the most important step the Peace Movement has taken thus far toward that goal.

The NDP can be elected to govern this country if all the forces who are for peace and social change unite behind it. The labour movement has shown its willingness to support the issue of disarmament not only in words but in deeds as well. We are on the verge of the most important political step that Canadians have ever taken.

The united interests of labour and disarmament groups are politically expressed through the NDP program. With the support of these social forces, the NDP could be the spearhead of a new coalition, that would bring about a society based on social justice and production for peace not war.

Past prejudices, cynicism and fear must be cast aside. The year "1984" can take on a new meaning in history, it can be known as the year that Canadians took the first step to ensure their survival in a world that will eventually find peace and security for all.

PEACE PETITION CARAVAN CAMPAIGN

NDP Antiwar Committee Policy Statement

As the nuclear arms race escalates, the world is drifting toward unparalleled catastrophe. The militarization of the world's economies not only threatens annihilation of the planet but also starves the needs of the poor while enriching the arms profiteers. According to Ruth Sivard's (the former chief of the economics division of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) 1982 annual report on World Military and Social Expenditures, military expenditures have climbed to more than $600 billion a year. Yet one billion people lack the most basic necessities of life.

An estimated 100 million people are engaged in military activities either as soldiers or civilians producing weapons and related services. Since 1960, all of the increase in armed forces numbers has taken place in the underdeveloped countries, which now account for more than 60 per cent of the world's total manpower under arms. Armament imports by these, the poorest countries have increased 17-fold accounting for about three-quarters of the world's arms trade.

World military spending comes to $19,300 per soldier, public education spending per school-age child to $380. The arms business today accounts for about $150 billion in annual sales, an amount just below the annual incomes of the world's 14 largest national economies.

Canada's military expenditures are reaching $8.25 billion in the midst of a recession while supposedly there is not enough money to provide for jobs or to sustain social services like health and welfare.

The NDP Antiwar Committee (a subcommittee of the Metro New Democrats in Metro Toronto), basing itself on party policy, presents the following statement of principles and objectives.

One—

END CANADA'S COMPLICITY WITH THE WAR DRIVE. We stand for an independent foreign policy. In line with the policy adopted at the 1980 federal convention, we call for Canada's withdrawal from the U.S. military alliances, NATO and NORAD. We advocate that Canada become a nuclear weapon free zone in terms of production of components or systems, testing and transportation of nuclear weapons. Against the absurd race for increased nuclear overkill, we oppose the Cruise missile testing on Canadian soil, the central issue before the disarmament movement today.

Two—

NDP AS THE ANTIWAR PARTY. In the tradition of its founders, the NDP draws upon the antiwar attitude of the Regina Manifesto. We stand opposed to the war system, which is an instrument of corporate profit. As the antiwar party of Canada, we propose the socialist alternative of production for use and human need. Through our policy and our party status, we aim to provide political leadership to the disarmament movement. We identify with the growing antiwar movement in Canada by joining actively in its campaigns and demonstrations. In parliament, we act as tribunes of the antiwar movement by translating policy into legislative proposals. As a party, we defend antiwar dissidents who suffer harassment from governmental and police authorities over completely legitimate and nonviolent protest.

Three—

SOLIDARITY WITH THE ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE. As part of its commitment to opposing the war system, the NDP aligns itself with the Socialist International in support of the liberation fighters in the Third World. In the spirit of socialist solidarity, we further our antiwar aims not by declarations of mere pacifism but of support to necessary struggles for social reform, freedom, and social justice against the system of cruel exploitation by world corporate power.

Four—

JOBS NOT BOMBS. As the labor party of Canada, the NDP represents the interests of working people and the labor movement. Therefore, we advocate that war production (which by its nature is destructive, inflationary and capital intensive) be converted to peacetime production with emphasis on job creation and production to satisfy unmet social needs. This position is in harmony with the positions advocated in the labor movement itself, for example, by the leaderships of the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists.

Five—

POLITICAL EDUCATION. The Antiwar Committee places a high priority on the promulgating of party policy both within and outside of the party. This entails the holding of public forums, policy conferences, campaigns and publishing and circulating information.

Six—

MEMBERSHIP. The NDP Antiwar Committee is the property of all party members in good standing in the Metro Toronto area. Our committee aspires to democratically involve party members at all levels of party organization. We also strive to participate with non-party disarmament groups in mutual campaigns where possible and where consistent with party policy.

Join, support the NDP Antiwar Committee

- ☐ I am willing to help elect the NDP
- ☐ I would like more information about the NDP Antiwar Committee
- ☐ I am willing to make a financial contribution

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Phone No. _____

Mail to: NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE
184 Main St., Toronto, Ont. M4E 2W1

NDP Antiwar Committee Buttons Available

BUILD THE ANTIWAR PARTY THE NDP

NATO OUT OF CANADA— CANADA OUT OF NATO

INDIVIDUAL BUTTONS - $1.00 EACH
ORDERS OF 20 OR MORE - 67¢ EACH

Please send me:

_____ "BUILD THE NDP..."

_____ "NATO OUT OF CANADA..."

Enclosed is a cheque or money order for $_____

Payable to: NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE
c/o Donald C. MacDonald House
184 Main Street, Toronto, Ontario M4E 2W1

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT:

Harry Paine 466-1307 • Kimberley Wilde 466-1307 • Laura Pascoe 924-4934 • Gord Doctorow 493-6829

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE ARMS RACE!

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IS GROWING!

There have never been more groups and individuals active in the disarmanent movement. The campaign against the Cruise testing has achieved national and international attention and placed peace in the center of the political agenda of this country. This pressure has delayed the Cruise tests by a year or more. The Canadian government has the authority to annul the Cruise testing agreement and we must continue to work to see that future Cruise tests are cancelled.

LOOKING FORWARD :

THE PEACE PETITION CARAVAN CAMPAIGN!

The peace movement in Canada is now undertaking its most ambitious campaign to date. The Peace Petition Caravan Campaign (PPCC) is a nationwide canvassing campaign and petition drive. With this campaign we hope to influence the next federal election and build the peace movement with direct personal contact.

We will not endorse or condemn candidates but we will raise the disarmanent issue and show that there is an important block of peace supporters in federal constituencies from coast-to-coast. We will make it clear that there is broad support for the demands:

1. Stop Cruise testing.
2. Declare Canada a Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone.
3. Cut military spending and fund human needs.

In Toronto the largest peace coalition ever assembled will involve thousands of volunteers in a riding by riding canvass and major public events. We CAN reverse the trend towards nuclear war!

NOW MORE THAN EVER WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT!

APRIL 1: CANVASSING BEGINS

APRIL 28: NATIONALLY CO-ORDINATED RALLIES

A successful Peace Petition Caravan Campaign will require thousands of volunteers and thousands of dollars. Your contribution will make this campaign grow!

☐ YES! I want to volunteer to build the peace movement!
☐ YES! I want to make a donation! ☐ $200 ☐ $100 ☐ $50 ☐ $25 ☐ $15 Other _____

☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard Account number_____
Valid from_____to_____ Signature _____

☐ YES I'm interested in the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign — please send me more information

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ POSTAL CODE _____

This leaflet was prepared by the Toronto Disarmament Network in support of the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign. For more information please contact: The TDN or PPCC at 736 Bathurst Street, Toronto M5S 2R4. Phone TDN (416)535-8005 PPCC (416)534-5762.

NDP ANTI WAR COMMITTEE
184 Main Street
Toronto, Ontario

A MESSAGE FROM THE NDP ANTI WAR COMMITTEE ...

Dear friends:

The NDP anti War Committee has been continuing the work of taking the NDP disarmament message as far and wide as possible.

The last year or so has seen an enormous growth in the peace movement throughout Canada. It is a very diverse movement in political terms but the New Democratic Party is the only major party that has been clearly supportive of the peace issue.

Nevertheless we were faced with considerable scepticism about not only us, but politicians in general. The consistantly good stand of the federal caucas, the Richard Johnston campaign to make Ontario, nuclear weapon free,plus the work of our committee, has resulted in general acceptance of the NDP in the peace movement.

Clearly the biggest challenge still lies before us -- THE PEACE PETITION CARAVAN CAMPAIGN. Its purpose is to make disarmament a key issue in the upcoming federal election. This campaign has drawn wide support from the community, churches and labour. The NDP Anti War committee has made it the main focus of our work for the next immediate period. (See enclosed leaflet)

If the party is to extend its base of support then this is one place that it can start. The NDP has not had a policy of intervention, but rather has left that to members to do as individuals. The result has been that a large sector of the activist community has not been made aware of our positions on important issues, or at least they have been able to avoid the facts.

We need your active involvement!

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. Get peace activists in your riding to set up a broadly based riding/community peace committee, if one does not exist.

2. Keep us informed of your activities by sending someone to our committee meetings.

3. Invite us to your riding, to speak to your membership.

4. Make a financial contribution to our committee. You can help get the NDP program into a great many more hands if we can continue to produce our newsletter.

Solidarity and regards on behalf of the NDP Anti War Committee,

Laura Pascoe (416) 924-4934

Harry Paine (416) 466-1307

NDP ANTI-WAR COMMITTEE REPORT

The NDP Anti-War Committee was organised in August, 1982 for the following purposes:

1. To provide a forum for debate and education on the peace issue, from an NDP point of view, both inside and outside the party.
2. To encourage support actions, and therefore wider recognition, of the positions taken on this issue by our elected members.
3. To mobilize NDP members around this issue and intervene in the broadly based peace movement as NDP'ers.
4. To maintain a high NDP profile on peace issues, and therefore build support for, and membership in, the party.
5. To act as liaison between the peace movement and our elected members, and provide whatever parliamentary help we could to that movement.

Over the past two years we have organised several successful public meetings, played a key role in the Richard Johnston campaign to make Ontario a nuclear weapon free zone, entered floats in the Labour Day Parade, and set up information tables at many public events in Toronto. We have published four newsletters, which were distributed nation-wide, produced three buttons to promote party policy on the peace issue, and worked to build a high NDP profile in a number of demonstrations. We are currently making the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign the main focus of our work.

It is our belief that a strong NDP presence in the peace movement is of vital importance, for several reasons. There existed in the peace movement a great deal of skepticism toward political parties, mainly flowing from the fact that much of the movement is directed toward changing the hearts and minds of Liberal and Tory governments. All too often these two parties are guilty of talking out of both sides of their mouths. Trudeau's so called peace initiative, while going ahead with cruise missile testing is a prime example.

Our task was to prove that the NDP really means what it says. We have had considerable help from the NDP federal caucus, who have not wavered in their opposition to the escalation of the arms race. In fact at whatever level of government, our elected members have given unconditional support to the peace movement.

Our committee, though small in numbers, has accomplished a considerable amount so far - the most important of which is to have the New Democratic Party accepted as a legitimate part of the peace movement. That has given us the opportunity

to explain that it is not only neccessary to put pressure on the Liberals and Tories, but if we are to have a lasting peace policy for Canada, then we must replace them.

While that is the general theme of our work in the peace movement, we do not make it an essential criteria for our participation. We are seriously intent upon stopping the arms race and creating a world which will make it possible for the other aspects of our program to be fulfilled. We cannot even begin to build a democratic socialist society, as long as the threat of war constantly hangs over our heads.

The Peace Petition Caravan Campaign has been a key reason for the dynamic growth of the peace movement this year. It is a campaign that starts with a program on which there can be agreement on the part of the broadest possible number of peace or community groups; end the cruise testing; make Canada a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone; jobs not bombs. It allows people to gather petitions, canvass politicians, conduct educational activities, demonstrate, or mobilize in any way they feel is best and effective.

Most importantly, the issue of peace and democratic decision making is taken directly into the community. This campaign has the possibility of building a broad mass movement that is able to educate, exchange ideas, and express the political will of the people in a forceful and lasting way. Any government that ignores that will, does so at their own peril.

The NDP has participated effectively in the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign. Our experience in riding organization, door to door canvassing and our clear policies on disarmament have been of great assistance to the campaign. A key factor in the campaign is the strong participation of the labour movement. This participation through the C.L.C., U.A.W. and Metro Labour Council has given the campaign a strong political thrust. The dynamic growth of the peace movement in B.C. is directly related to support from labour and the same thing is beginning to happen throughout Canada. The NDP's historic relationship with the labour movement as its political arm, has served to strengthen the idea that we are the political alternative in this country, and the only party that can express the desire for peace in legislative terms.

HOW THE NDP CAN HELP

The NDP Anti-War Committee has subsisted to this point on whatever resources it could muster itself. Its supporters have sold buttons, made some successful appeals to riding associations, held public forums and other types of fund-raising activities. Raising money should not be our primary activity, nevertheless we are a small committee, and there are many things for us to be involved in, if we are to

successfully promote the NDP and its program. The easiest way to do that is through the Newsletter that we have been publishing and the many leaflets that we have distributed.

The need for finances to continue this work is a constant burden and one that is getting quite beyond our capabilities; we need help. Having peace co-ordinators in every riding, with a party organizer to assist us in building links in the riding associations would be a step in the right direction. In order to broaden our base both provincially and federally, a more official status with possibly direct responsibility to Provincial Council is necessary.

The NDP Anti-War Committee has done a lot to break down the skepticism that has existed toward political parties in the past, but there is still much more that can and needs to be done. The peace movement today represents the biggest coalition of progressive forces that has ever existed. There is a challenge before us, as democratic socialists, to provide the kind of political leadership that can end Canada's complicity in the arms race and help remove the threat of nuclear war from our lives.

In the upcoming election, the choices will be clear - a vote for Turner or Mulrooney is a vote for arms build up. A vote for the NDP is a vote for peace. It is our task to make our alternative clear and accessible to the people of Canada.

NDP ANTIWAR NEWSLETTER

September, 1984 A Sub-Committee of Metro New Democrats. Set & printed by volunteer labor.

Broadbent warns against nuclear peril confronting Canada and entire world

By Ed Broadbent, MP and leader of the New Democratic Party

(The following is a condensation of Ed Broadbent's letter appealing for financial support from disarmament activists for the federal election.)

The world's atomic clock is ticking on towards midnight.

Arms reduction talks grind to a halt as new American missiles that can reach Moscow in six minutes are deployed in Germany. The Soviet countermove is the deployment of more submarines lurking off North America's coasts ready to launch an attack that would obliterate all our major cities in minutes.

With nuclear tensions rising, ... the civil war in Central America threatens to turn into another East-West showdown as the Kissinger Commission calls for a harder line there. The danger escalates day by day.

You have every reason to be frightened.

This is the nuclear arms race.

Last year, Prime Minister Trudeau and his cabinet put our country into the nuclear fray. In a secret cabinet session, they decided to bend to U.S. requests to test the Cruise missile in Canada. These Cruise missiles are already being tested as part of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. If the Liberal government is sincere about disarmament, they will cancel Cruise missile testing in Canada.

The New Democratic Party, joined by thousands of Canadians, demanded a debate and vote in Parliament to properly determine the role Canada can play in world peace. On June 14th, 1983, the NDP took the initiative and pressed Parliament to adopt a motion rejecting the Cruise missile tests. Ninety-eight per cent of Liberals and Conservative MPs voted for the tests. All NDP MPs voted against the tests.

Are you surprised?

Continued on page 2.

"It is better to vote for something you want and not get it than to vote for something you don't want -- and get it." -Eugene V. Debs

Turner-Mulroney

Labor leader scores both Liberals and Conservatives

By Wally Majesky, President Metro Toronto Labour Council

(The following speech was made to an anti-cruise testing rally in Toronto on April 28th.)

I bring you fraternal greetings from hundreds of thousands of working people.

We in the labor movement want to pledge our unequivocal support to the campaign for peace, both in terms of support for today's mass rally to stop cruise testing and in terms of the ongoing Peace Petition Caravan Campaign which is presently going on across this country. We want to reiterate our support for ... the three key demands: (1) Stop cruise testing; (2) Declare Canada a nuclear weapons free zone; (3) Cut military spending and fund human needs. And I also add a fourth key demand: FUND JOBS, NOT BOMBS.

I want to take a minute to express my

Continued on page 2.

Broadbent NDP opposes Cruise

Continued from page 1.

The cabinet had decided to go ahead with the tests even if the Supreme Court ruled the decision to go ahead was illegal.

New Democrats have been trying to move the world away from the edge of the nuclear precipice. But the Liberal government moves us closer ...

With your tax dollars the Liberal government helps build nuclear weapons for other nations. The government also allows, and indeed encourages, the visits of nuclear armed warships into Canada's ports. And the government has signed, without question, a new NORAD agreement that will open the frontiers of space to nuclear warfare.

And the Conservatives ...?

Brian Mulroney has appointed Toronto MP Sinclair Stevens as the Conservative Party's external affairs critic. Stevens' approach to Canada and the world has been described by Conservative MP Doug Roche as -- and I quote -- "the militarisation of foreign affairs, with limited nuclear war not ruled out, foreign aid slashed, and repressive regimes bolstered."

The New Democrats are the only major political party in our country clearly opposed to the use of nuclear weapons....

Last year at the NDP's Fiftieth Anniversary Convention, two thousand New Democrats from every province and territory went on record opposing the Cruise missile tests ...

The Liberal Government claims our NATO membership obligates us to the Cruise. This is simply not so. Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands have all refused the Cruise without jeopardizing their role in NATO.

And Mr. Mulroney is now calling for closer links with U.S. defence and foreign policies firmly placing Canadians in President Reagan's back pocket.

Do you believe that the world can control 50,000 nuclear warheads spread around the globe and keep the state of political relations on an even keel?

EDITORS: Kimberley Wilde, Gord Doctorow
CO-CHAIRPERSONS: Harry Paine, Laura Pascoe
TREASURER: Kimberley Wilde
SECRETARY: Marg Pilger

Letters are most welcome. Send to:
THE EDITOR, NDP Antiwar Committee,
c/o 184 Main street, Toronto, Ont. M4E 2W1.

Need jobs, not bombs

Continued from page 1.

disappointment with the present Trudeau-Liberal government and probably the future Turner-Liberal Party. I think Mr. Trudeau is at his hypocritical best when he advocates setting up a peace institute for the promotion of peace when ... he supports the active testing of cruise missiles in Canada.

My response to Mr. Trudeau ... as he panders to the Canadian electorate ... on the question of peace: either you are for it or you are against it, and the public record is quite clear. Mr. Trudeau and his colleagues are for cruise missile testing. So much for Mr. Trudeau's peace inititatives.

I only wish Mr. Trudeau would set up a "Canadian Employment Institute" and worry about how to put the one and a half million Canadians back to work.

As for Mr. Mulroney's party's position on peace, it's not one totally different from the Liberals. If Mr. Mulroney's concern about peace is as great as was his concern with the shutting down of the Iron Ore Company in Schefferville, where hundreds of workers were permanently displaced, then God help us.

I see only one party that is, and has, time and time again supported the peace initiatives in this country and that is the New Democratic Party. One only has to look at the efforts of people like Dan Heap, Richard Johnston and Jack Layton ....

In ending, I want to say that the trade union movement in this city and in this country is supportive both morally and philosophically, as well as financially, in the peace fight and we will stand shoulder to shoulder with all of you in the fight for peace, not only today but until we attain global peace for working people around the world.

INDIVIDUAL BUTTONS $1.00 EACH
ORDERS OF 20 OR MORE $0.67 EACH

Please send me:
....."BUILD THE ANTIWAR..."
....."NATO OUT OF CANADA..."
....."PEACE BEGINS AT HOME"

Enclosed is a cheque or money order for $.....

Payable to NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE
c/o Donald C. MacDonald House
184 Main street, Toronto, Ontario M4E 2W1

NDP Antiwar Committee Buttons

Anti-war movement forces Turner to try straddling nuclear fence

By Kimberley Wilde, NDP Antiwar Committee

The Liberals are running scared. That is the only logical conclusion possible in light of John Turner's most recent statement on the issue of a nuclear freeze.

Turner the Prime Minister says he could not support the call for a freeze. Turner the man says he supports not only the freeze but a reduction too. "Trust me" he says, as he straddles the nuclear fence. Why should we?

The Liberals have been forced to make a statement on disarmament because of the combined pressure from the growth of the disarmament movement which represents a key voting force, and the continued efforts of the NDP to drive home this issue.

Mulroney's position is more clear. Not only does he not support a freeze; he plans to increase Canada's military budget and build up our conventional forces to the tune of $12.50 per year for every man, woman and child. This on top of the rest of his promised spending increases. The meaning is clear and direct -- increased military spending means fewer jobs.

The rationalization for both Mulroney's and Turner's positons lies in "our NATO obligations." The question that each Canadian voter should be asking right now is: are we truly obligated to participate in an arms race which is increasingly bringing he world closer to a nuclear disaster? When unemployment is at an all-time high in Canada do we really want to spend money on weapons development and expanding our military program when we could be spending in areas that will create thousands more jobs? Should Canadian foreign policy be dependent upon our allies, as Mr. Turner has stated? Or should we develop an independent foreign and domestic anti-nuclear policy? The NDP upholds the latter position. In the words of Ed Broadbent, "if we desire a non-nuclear world abroad, we must first achieve a completely non-nuclear Canada at home."

Both the disarmament movement and the NDP have long recognized the need for the Canadian government to end Canadian complicity in the arms race. That is why we are opposed to Cruise testing. That is why we demand that Canada be declared a nuclear weapons free zone. That is why we want our hard-earned money spent on human services and job creation programs -- not more weapons. And if our NATO/NORAD commitments really do require that we become accomplices in a nuclear, first-strike strategy, then let us reject those commitments.

The NDP has fought for disarmament in the face of vehement opposition from both the Tories and the Liberals. That's because the NDP is based on the struggle of working people to fundamentally change the quality of our lives. By convention decision, the party is committed to building Canada's role as a strong and independent voice for disarmament.

NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONE

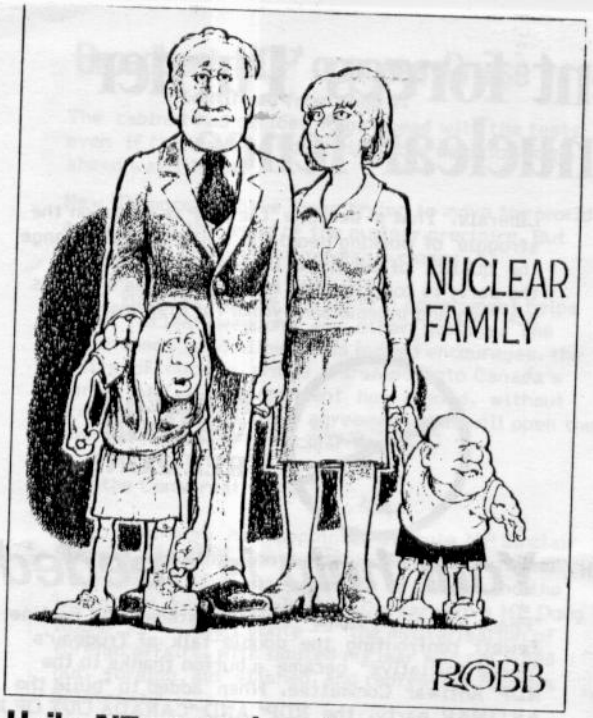
Your help is needed!

"Peace Begins At Home" -- this statement by Pauline Jewett confronting the double-talk of Trudeau's "peace initiative" became a button thanks to the NDP Antiwar Committee. When added to "build the ANTIWAR party, the NDP" AND "CANADA OUT OF NATO, NATO OUT OF CANADA" buttons the NDP political presence at demonstrations and rallies has been clear and up front.

Last October 22, the NDP Antiwar Newsletter was there to put the NDP viewpoint forward against Cruise testing and to explain why the NDP offered a real alternative to people struggling for disarmament. Again, on April 28, the Newsletter appeared with a reprint of the NDP Antiwar Manifesto and a message of solidarity with the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign. We explained once again how the NDP and the labor movement corresponded to the aspirations of the movement. And now again, here we are presenting information and analysis to drive home the message that supporting and building the NDP is supporting and building the movement for nuclear disarmament and social progress.

But all this was not done without cost. We decided that the priority of making sure that the message of the NDP as the antiwar party of Canada was present in the mass actions of the disarmament movement obliged us to accept an increasing debt load. Moreover, we have built up a literature supply, a computerized, expanding mailing list, NDP banners, etc. To a small degree, we have been able to decrease our debt burden by sales of buttons and literature and random donations. But we have now reached the stage of a debt that now approaches $1,500.

While we are not daunted by this debt, we cannot afford to ignore it. So we turn to you, our supporters, and ask that you give as generously as you can to assist in our vital work. Please forward cheques or money orders to The NDP Antiwar Committee, 184 Main St., Toronto, Ont. M4E2W1.



Hails NZ as nuclear free zone

By Richard Johnston, MPP Scarborough West, NDP

(The following letter was addressed to supporters of the campaign to make Ontario a nuclear weapon free zone.)

Two recent events provide a ray of hope and a great challenge respectively for those of us in the disarmament movement.

The election of the New Zealand Labour Party on a strong nuclear weapon free zone and disarmament platform should be taken by each of us as a sign of what can be done ... it was the culmination of a systematic campaign to have municipalities across New Zealand declare themselves Nuclear Weapon Free. By the time the election was called, well over 60% of the country had already declared itself nuclear weapon free. Letters of support to the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. David Lange, may help him withstand American pressures to weaken his resolve.

Secondly, we have a federal election campaign here in Canada which we should take as a delicious opportunity to raise public consciousness and push our federal candidates into declaring their position on a nuclear weapons free Canada and an international freeze of weapon development. I encourage you to make sure disarmament issues are on the front burners on the election campaign stove ....

By the way, I submitted another resolution to the House in support of the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign, debate of which has now been pre-empted by the federal election.

election & beyond

By Harry Paine, Co-Chairman NDP Antiwar Committee

The Peace Petition Caravan Campaign, with thousands of disarmament activists from coast to coast, has reoriented itself to the September 4th election. The Toronto chapter issued a leaflet stating "With the world teetering on the brink of nuclear war no issue is as vital as the survival of the planet."

The PPCC URGES Canadians to "vote Peace -- support candidates who endorse the PPCC program." Thus far, only candidates of the New Democratic Party meet those qualifications entirely.

Before his retirement, Trudeau tried desperately to bolster the sagging fortunes of the Liberals by flying around the world trying to convince world leaders of something that they already knew, that a nuclear war is not winnable. At the same time his government slavishly allowed the United States to test the First Strike Cruise missile over Canadian soil.

As Ed Broadbent commented, if the Prime Minister (Trudeau) was really serious about peace he would have given notice to the U.S. of Canada's intention to withdraw from the nuclear weapons testing agreement.

Mulroney and the Conservatives have made it clear that they will not accept an independent Canada. To emphasize his position, Mulroney flew to Washington to get advice from his co-thinker Ronald Reagan. With a Tory government we can expect even more complicity of Canada in the nuclear war games of the United States.

Wars are waged by governments, and pressure on a government during its term of office is very necessary. When an election is called, the most practical task for the disarmament movement is to work to elect a government that already has as part of its program a clear declaration of its intentions to abandon the nuclear warpath.

We urge all those Canadians who would have peace in the world to not only support but work to elect New Democrats wherever possible. We also urge Canadians to join the work of the PPCC as a backup to the NDP's parliamentary campaign to keep nuclear weapons out of Canada.

☐ I would like more information about the NDP Antiwar Committee

☐ I am willing to make a financial contribution

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Phone No. _____

Mail to: NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE
184 Main St., Toronto, Ont. M4E 2W1

(July 1985)

NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE

BRIEF ON STARWARS TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

The New Democratic Party opposes Canadian involvement in the United States government's Strategic Defence Initiative on both ideological and practical grounds. Beginning with our ideological perspective, the NDP Antiwar Committee stands on the socialist principal of economic production to satisfy human needs. We believe in production aimed at socially necessary and useful goods and services, eschewing production geared to militarism and war. In the age of nuclear weapons with sophisticated and rapid delivery systems, we feel it becomes vitally urgent to break from the logic of a system which channels scientific and technical creativity, capital and human resources into the development of the most fiendish and destructive weaponry conceived by humans.

From the outset we reject the "spinoff" rationale which seeks to justify military research and development by claiming that such activity will provide technical benefits for civilian use. The colossal waste of injecting hundreds of billions of dollars each year into weapons of mass destruction while vast sectors of the world's population suffer from disease, drought, famine, war, insurmountable debts and social stagnation, is a reproach to our civilization's priorities. We categorically reject the notion that economic stimulation and job creation must rest on the foundation of militarism.

In this attitude, we stand shoulder to shoulder with the labor movement, which is the social base of the New Democratic Party. The Canadian Labor Congress, speaking for the major portion of organized workers. has repeatedly declared its opposition to Cruise testing and now to Star Wars research in Canada. Both the International Association of Machinists and the United Auto Workers unions have called for a conversion of war-based industry, like the production of components for the Cruise missile by Litton in Rexdale, Ontario, to peace-time industries which have been shown to be better job generators. Included in such alternative industries are education, health care, housing and other service-oriented examples.

The labor movement's opposition to Star Wars, and ours, is founded in the belief that such activity is inimical to the interests of the majority of people. Only the big corporations stand to gain from a bourgeoning arms race through super-profits derived from government handouts. We believe that Canada's future as a country of peace and plenty lies in the direction of AN INDEPENDENT AND SOCIALIST CANADA.

As has been amply demonstrated in other briefs and expert technical testimony, Star Wars is a dangerous acceleration of the nuclear arms race. In a world already threatened with hair trigger systems ranging from cunning Cruise missiles to powerful Pershings, nuclear missile systems that are airborne, sea-borne, and land-based, the introduction of space-based weapons is a vault into nuclear nightmare. Contrary to its being confined to "defence", it stimulates the race for more accurate (i.e. more deadly) and more rapidly deployed first-strike weapons in the pursuit of margins of advantage. The computer technology is nowhere near the stage of the level of artificial intelligence to make practical an effective space-based defence system, despite the incredible investment in funds and diversion of technical personnel to this military madness. Moreover, the direction ot this "research" is in the hands of the United States, which is the only military power to have actually used nuclear weapons against populations and which has been documented to have threatened to use nuclear weapons on at least ten occasions by different presidents, according to U.S. policy analyst Daniel Ellsberg. Recent press revelations show that during President Nixon's tenure, he had seriously contemplated such use on at least four occasions. Such irresponsible leadership needs to be checked by non-cooperation.

Canada's integrity and sovereignty are at stake in the Star Wars proposal. We believe that it is shameful for Canada to become so tied into U.S. strategic and military interests that our country becomes little more than a satellitic dependency craving contract crumbs. This is merely a continuation of the dependency relation that Canada experiences as a junior partner in NORAD and in the Defence Production Sharing Arrangements. The upgrading of the DEW line and its potential for interlinking with the Star Wars arrangement is costing the Canadian people unnecessary millions of dollars and the surrender of sovereignty in the North.

Even more egregious than that is Canada's involvement in NATO, which commits us to spending billions on U.S.-made fighter aircraft, which can serve no useful role in the event of a nuclear war. Meanwhile, our coastline (the longest in the world) seriously lacks patrol aircraft that could be used for search and rescue missions. Ironically, useful job-creation could be advanced by substituting NATO costs with purchases of STOL craft made at Canada's deHavilland Corporation. Not only is NATO a serious economic drain for what constitutes, at best, a marginal Canadian presence, it cannot be said to act in Canada's defence. (This opinion is shared by Retired Major-General Leonard Johnson.) For there is no defence against nuclear war. NATO subordinates Canada's sovereignty to the policies of the United States government. Former Prime Minister Trudeau acknowledged that NATO is not a forum of equals but rather a vehicle for U.S. dictates.

NATO is the vehicle for Star Wars. It is the insidious web that binds its member countries to a doctrine of first-strike nuclear strategy and accelerating deployment of nuclear weapons, irrespective of the wills of the populations. It is the logic which causes air-launched Cruise missiles to be tested in Canada.

By contrast, the NDP Antiwar Committee finds its inspiration in the action of the Labor Government of New Zealand. Like our counterparts there, we seek to make our country a nuclear weapons free zone. We spurn military alliances that militate against this projection. Instead of finding consolation in the super-power arms talks, with their vain hope of regulating and controlling the nuclear arms drive, we solidarize with the New Zealand example in which the government acted unilaterally, albeit as a relatively small power, to ban U.S. nuclear craft from its territory. More was achieved by the courageous example than all the petitions and lobbies of the past decades. If Canada is to exert an influential role in the world, then it must act independently, decisively, and with political conviction.

Our recommendations are based on two resolutions that were passed at the 1985 Federal Convention of the New Democratic Party:

(1) "BE IT RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party confirm its commitment to peace and disarmament by reaffirming its policy calling for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and other military alliances."

Accordingly, we recommend that the government's Green Paper call for Canada's withdrawal from NATO, NORAD, the Defence Production Sharing Arrangements, and non-participation in the OAS or other military alliances. Canada's role in the world should be guided by a spirit of independence.

(2) "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that New Democrats call on the Canadian government to reject any Canadian participation in Star Wars research knowing such research would be intimately linked to present and future development of defensive weapons.

"We call on the government to make it clear to the United States that Canada will not host any Star Wars related research, development or manufacture and will not provide any part of any deployment, communications or command structure for SDI.

"We call on the government to launch a complete public and parliamentary examination of the North Warning System Arrangement with the United States and its links to Star Wars. We oppose the transformation of Canada's Arctic to a Star Wars battleground through the deployment of AWACs, forward MR fighter planes, missile launchers and space weapons support systems. New Democrats encourage provincial and city governments, universities, trade and professional unions to have nothing to do with Star Wars research.

"We reject the morally bankrupt claim that Canada's participation in Star Wars will create jobs. A significant number of jobs would not be created in Canada, and we believe the young and other unemployed Canadians do not want such false job creation at the cost of nuclear peace and security. And furthermore, we reject the notion that public spending in this area will create more jobs than public spending in socially and morally acceptable areas such as transportation, education and health care.

"New Democrats will work within the Socialist International to secure a common and firm position against Star Wars research, development and deployment.

"We reiterate our 1981 call for the de-militarization of space and reject Canadian participation in space shuttles, space stations or other space ventures that will be put to military use and support instead such endeavors at the International Satellite Monitoring Agency.

"While rejecting a defensive arms race, we reiterate our call for radical reductions by the U.S. and Soviet Union in offensive nuclear weapons leading to general nuclear disarmament. We reiterate our longstanding call for a mutual freeze to facilitate such radical reductions."

Accordingly, we refer to the recommendations explicitly stated in the above resolution and commend the spirit of other sections which are not directed to the Canadian government, but which can act as a guide.

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JULY 1985

STAR WARS